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WOMEN AND THE MINISTRY

BY

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CANON OF LIVERPOOL AND CHAPLAIN TO THE KING

WITH AN AMERICAN INTRODUCTION BY
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FIRST EDITION

TO THE MEMORY OF

THE PIONEERS

IN A GREAT MOVEMENT OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD

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THE AMERICAN SITUATION

1. *The Place of Women in the Life of the Church*

During the great revival of 1857–1858 a former editor of one of the denominational weeklies, then in his eightieth year, contributed to the paper a series of articles upon the subject of the revival. In that of September 9, 1858, he noted the significance of the Christian leadership given by women and declared in the phraseology of the day that the help of the "pious female" should not be spurned.

Seventy years later a British writer, also a clergyman in a great English-speaking church, who has also noted the response of Christian women to the call of the Spirit of God, makes another plea for the liberty of women to answer the divine call.

Within two months after the communication of Dr. Nathan Bangs to the *Christian Advocate* a meeting was called in New York City which formed a Ladies' Christian Association—the forerunner of the Young Women's Christian

Associations in America. The participating members that day elected as their "first directress" one of these "pious females" who had been leader of one of the interdenominational prayer circles the previous winter. Within two years another interdenominational organization was started by New York ladies, but this was national in its charter and world-wide in its field of operations—the Women's Union Missionary Society. Before a decade had passed groups of women in several denominations prayerfully associated themselves to send out unmarried women missionaries to the women and children in the foreign mission fields of their own churches. This seems to justify the accusation that Americans express their convictions through forming societies. It is surely a proof that old men can see visions as well as dream dreams, and that daughters as well as sons can prophesy.

The English plea in the year 1928 is made by the Reverend Charles E. Raven, D. D., directly to the Church of England. He is neither a feminist nor a revolutionary, but a man whose character, achievements, and position indicate that his words are worthy of attention. As

Dean of Emmanuel College in the University of Cambridge, as editor of a weekly church paper, as one of the secretaries of the "Copec" movement, and now as a canon of the new cathedral at Liverpool, he has had a wide experience of many sides of Christian activity. Though he writes primarily as an Anglican, his association with and knowledge of other denominations is probably closer than that of any other member of his church. And as Noble lecturer at Harvard University and a delegate to the Jerusalem Missionary Council he has many links with the United States. His conviction that the admission of women to Holy Orders on an equality with men is inherent in the teaching of Jesus, and his experience of their spiritual fitness and the immediacy of the need of their services, led to the publication of this volume, *Women and the Ministry*. It is timely and pertinent not only throughout the British Empire but in the United States as well.

The active American interest in the place of women in the Church is evidenced both by recent changes in legislation and practice and by the fact that many people conversant with what Christian women have accomplished de-

termined "to ascertain whether in the light of a larger release of the powers of women elsewhere in life there needed to be a revision of the dimension of their sphere in the Church."

Any open-minded observer of current religious affairs, any attendant upon local or denominational meetings, is aware of changes in ecclesiastical as well as in those economic and political areas which are more frequently brought under review. We have become so familiar with women's advance in educational areas that our attention is no longer caught by signs of progress.

Many of the changes referred to have to do with the administration of the church boards for missions, and much reorganization of one sort or another has been effected since 1920 whereby women share in the councils and staffing for general administration instead of being responsible for only their own women's work. These boards include the United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the Congregational Home Board, the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Board of National

Missions, and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Northern), and the Committee on Assembly's Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (Southern). Although there are keen advocates of both the older and newer systems and of the "coöperation and coördination" shown by certain other denominations not yet come to the full step of "consolidation," still at least the following statement of experience is often being corroborated: "No difficulty has arisen where women have been given recognition and joint authority with men. On the contrary constructive help has been given by the women on every committee to which they have been assigned. The national committees (or boards) have been greatly strengthened by the addition of women to their membership."

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1918 passed a bill of "Laity rights" by which there is no actual discrimination against women in the *Discipline* of its church. However, a decision of the board of bishops states that this church does not recognize women as preachers.

In 1926 the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly discussed women's place in the

Church and, while it stated that "it is the settled doctrine of our church that women are excluded from licensure and ordination by the plain teaching of the Scriptures" and "therefore cannot be admitted to our pulpits as authorized preachers of the Word," recommended that other services of Christian women be left "to the discretion of the sessions and the enlightened consciences of our Christian women themselves." Other significant changes will be cited later.

The concerted effort to ascertain the relative place of women in the Church resulted in a survey undertaken in 1925 by a Joint Committee of about sixty persons representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America. The return of possibly two thousand schedules with supplementary correspondence and interviews on at least ten different aspects of "the relation of women's organized work to the total life and work of the Church both in the denomination and in interdenominational organizations" showed facts as seen by clergy

and lay members, both men and women, accompanied by many illustrations and much statement of opinion in the nature of interpretation. Although more than one hundred denominations (see Appendix D) replied to certain main questions, yet the Tentative Report of this committee was confined to twenty-two of these, representing, however, more than twenty-five million of the forty-six million listed communicants of the religious bodies in this country, according to figures published in 1927.

Seven of these twenty-two denominations, the Northern Baptist Convention, the Christian Church-General Convention, the Congregationalists, the Disciples of Christ, the Society of Friends (Orthodox) Five Year Meeting, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and the United Brethren in Christ recognize women and men equally as laymen and clergy.

In nine of these denominations—the Southern Baptist Convention, the National Baptist Convention (coloured), the Evangelical Church, the Evangelical Synod of North America, the United Lutheran Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church,

South, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church —laity rights are more or less open, but women are not ordained at all, or not upon equal terms with men. In the remaining six denominations under review women are not generally eligible to membership in vestries or sessions or consistories, and are not ordained: the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Northern), the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (Southern), the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Church in America (Dutch Reformed), and the Reformed Church in the U. S. (German Reformed).

The findings of the survey amply corroborated the conjecture that there is coming about in local and denominational circles a revised valuation as to women's part therein, because of what they have already accomplished and of all that needs immediately their further assistance. Men as well as women approve these changes, and women as well as men are indifferent or opposed to them. Perhaps one of the most certain results of the study is the recognition "that men and women can make equal contribution to the great struggle of to-day,

Christianity's struggle to live and outdo the new paganism; to enthrone the personal God, subordinate the flesh," and that the whole work of the Church should be planned by men and women working together.

2. *Laywomen in the Church*

The proportion of women in the pews and on the church membership rolls is apparently higher than that of men. However, this proportion seems to be lessening in many localities not so much because of the absence of women as of the increase in the number of men that is credited to the existence of large men's classes. All surveys are misleading because of the imperfect lists to which questionnaires are addressed, the diverse meanings discovered in the same question by the readers, and the lack of second sight on the part of the examiners. Of 954 replies from the 22 churches under review, only 12 correspondents from 7 of the denominations seemed to report more men than women in the Sunday audiences; 228 said the numbers were equal; majorities of women running as high as 66 per cent. were reported from the Christian Church, the Society of Friends, the

Evangelical Synod, and the United Presbyterians, and as high as 75 per cent. or more from some of the correspondents in the other eighteen denominations. The most frequent reply, "about two thirds women in our congregation," may be as nearly accurate for the country at large as for those parishes.

As to the church membership of women, this has been given from 1916 figures as 19,990,-204, or a proportion of 56.1 per cent. of the entire membership in the United States. That the status of women does not seem to affect the actual enrollment of either sex is disclosed by the fact that the Congregationalist (64 per cent.) and Friend's groups (54 per cent.) offer equal rights for laity and clergy, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in which rights are not fully extended registers 61.4 per cent. of women communicants.

Women have always been contributors to religious funds. The certain poor widow of our Lord's day has never failed in her succession. It is equally true that the needs of women have always been in mind when offerings have been made by Christian people, not only for the sick and destitute of the neighbourhood or the

city slums, but for women in distant states or countries who need healing of body, mind, or soul.

And still in many denominations in the United States to-day this predominating body of women may not sit in the business sessions of their parish, nor decide on the budget for which they contribute a double share, first as individual members of the Church, and again through their women's societies, nor indicate their preference for a pastor who will take their loyalty for granted as do the laymen, in meeting this budget.

In most denominations there is some form of a congregational meeting where matters of general policy and elections to the governing boards come up and all church members have a vote. One correspondent explained that this annual meeting franchise insured full powers "in governing the Church and administering the affairs thereof." He evidently believed that absence as well as silence gives consent to what such a governing board might do on the remaining 364 days of the year.

In some communions it is left for each diocese to sanction, and each parish to decide upon, the

admission of women to local units; for example, Protestant Episcopal correspondents in twenty-one states and Hawaii reported that women were members of the vestry of that particular parish. On the other hand, where women are technically in full and regular standing there is frequently a precarious exercise of their rights. In most of the Methodist churches women are members of the Quarterly Conference, but the official board which is supposed "to be composed of all the members of the Quarterly Conference" rarely expects the women to appear at its monthly meeting. In churches where women are not legally included in the vestry or the church board they are being organized into a general "church cabinet" or "parish council" through which their experience and opinions are drawn upon. More and more are women being elected as trustees, responsible for the real property of the church even in those denominations where women do not sit in the session which is responsible for spiritual affairs. Other churches in this group add a board of deaconesses chiefly for parish visiting rather than for policy making or administering.

Throughout the whole local programme

women are found indispensable. They attend the devotional meetings, promote the system of religious education, work on all kinds of committees, including Building Committees, and in addition carry on some form of Ladies' Aid Society or Ladies' Social Union. Their auxiliaries of the church-wide Foreign and Home Missionary Societies, which not only secure funds for designated purposes, but become centres of spiritual and social life for the whole congregation, and which generate a sympathetic knowledge of world affairs in the most provincial community as well as in the centres of population, are the greatest gift to the Kingdom of God made by American women.

It is in the Foreign Missionary Societies of almost all the church bodies that the Christian women of the United States have shown their consecration and developed their ability. In one of the denominations where the women work independently for their budgets $2,465,-623.66 was raised by the 594,358 members in 1927. In another denomination where a merger has been effected the women's groups were previously raising more money than the corresponding "general" boards of the church, and

were invited to become equal partners in the new firm. Other recognition has come in election of women to the highest legislative bodies on the ground that they had shown such capacity for constructive policies as well as for details that other denominational concerns would profit by their coöperation.

But beyond this multiplicity of volunteer work must be considered the increase in the number of women professionally employed by the church. The report of a commission on this subject has just appeared which says, "this increase is many times greater than the increase of men in the full time ministry and out of all proportion to the increase of membership in the church. It would seem that the increase is also much greater in later years than the gains in other professional fields open to women."

Historically the deaconess movement first claimed women, and the Protestant Episcopal, Evangelical, Lutheran, and Methodist Episcopal communions continue the system with variations and adaptations. Parish visitors are found elsewhere. The position of pastor's assistant, possibly combining parish, office, and educational work, is an attractive field to many

women, and in the Congregational churches alone 417 women are so recorded in the current year book while 97 men are also thus classified. The Association of Directors and Ministers of Religious Education showed an increase in the proportion of women from 22 per cent. to 42 per cent. in the last four years, and one denomination alone records 81 women directors in local churches. Christian Social Service, either institutional or otherwise, claims many full-time workers, and it should be said that the Church Mission of Help of the Protestant Episcopal Church is most highly rated by representatives of social agencies that have had close contacts with it.

To the list of American women that are executive and field secretaries of church boards for missions, education, and other purposes must be added those editing church papers, those teaching in coeducational or women's colleges under the supervision or patronage of a denomination, and those who represent these churches in denominational or interdenominational enterprises on home and foreign mission fields. The ministry of preaching will be considered separately.

3. Ordained Women Ministers

The very genius of some of the groups of people united for the worship of God comprehended men and women equally as sharing in God's grace and as owing Him the service of witnessing to this. Others followed a larger freedom for volunteer workers, or laymen, by the ordination of women to the ministry of preaching, knowing that among their membership "very, very few understand the Scriptures to forbid this." "On the contrary," wrote one, "Jesus gave us a great example of woman's part in the work of His Kingdom. After the resurrection He first told a woman to go tell the men."

Much sorry humour, however, and many amazing similes have been offered as arguments against women preaching the gospel of Christ's resurrection. One recalls Dr. Samuel Johnson's remark of the eighteenth century: "Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog walking on his hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all," but one is astonished to hear a somewhat similar zoölogical protest in the twentieth century to the

effect that "camel-like, the nose of this petticoat legislation opened the flap, and now the whole body of it tries to stalk into the tent of the itinerant ministry." And yet the man who uttered these gallant words later cried out, "Is chivalry dead that we should imperil women in such dangerous work?" One need not wonder, because the earliest missionary enterprises of the churches, long before the days of women's participation, had to meet "most frivolous objections, most unfounded prejudices, and evil surmisings without number." The real issue is this, that our ecclesiastical bodies should recognize, as Canon Raven has indicated, "the equality in God's sight of all His children, and His special recognition and acceptance of the ministry and gifts of women," and then see to it that no gainsaying laws stand upon their books. Then, as the Spirit of God leads, as sentiment permits, as conditions require, and as women respond to individual calls for the particular service they can render to the Kingdom of God, their ministry may be accepted.

Women licensed but not ordained may serve as supply pastors in very many denominations; they are invited by many a regular pastor

to hold evangelistic meetings in his church, they "occupy the pulpit" at regular sermon time for the stated "ministry of the Word," and they continually represent missionary interests and other causes to the whole congregation. A rector invites a distinguished foreign guest or a young theological graduate to his pulpit, not because of any desire for propaganda, but because these women know something that they can tell to his congregation and that he wishes his congregation to know. In fact, the varieties of method by which the message of women is being heard is balanced only by the varieties of reasons for not hearing women, which are being given by both men and women in denominations in which their clerical status is said to be equal.

Unfamiliarity with the main facts of the case has something to do with this latter situation. The undesirable publicity given to one conspicuous "female preacher" will outweigh the little known records of scores of acceptable women pastors and will reinforce unconscious prejudices against the intruding woman movement that seems to be overtaking one more profession held to be a masculine prerogative.

"Breaking up the finest fraternity on the face of the earth" was the accusation brought against this encroachment by one member of this "fraternity." "Among women, too, there is generally a prejudice against the idea of a woman preacher until they have had a woman pastor, and then they stand by loyally," reported a woman holding a Pennsylvania pastorate.

The economic objection is sometimes put forward on the ground that women would be competing against men, yet according to one superintendent, who is responsible for filling vacant pulpits, "I can ask a woman to take a small charge which would not support a married man and family. Both of the two on my district are more acceptable as preachers than the men in corresponding positions; they bring up the finances and do all the work well." An ordained Congregational woman who had held several pastorates in Presbyterian churches corroborated this evidence as to salary scales.

Those who fear that the admission of women to ministerial ranks will crowd out young men candidates may not realize the limited number

of women who have sought ordination in those communions where it is granted them. These numbers cannot be always ascertained, as the menace has evidently not been thought serious enough to warrant any record of its approach. It is also impossible to trace the number of ordained women from the lists of graduates of Theological Seminaries, since many women enter and complete these courses as preparation for professions other than that of the ministry; nor from the roster of women in charge of churches, since many denominations call "licensed," not yet ordained, preachers to hold such posts.

In the Northern Baptist churches, which are independent in their action, comparatively few women have been ordained pastors. "Among Free Baptists women have been ordained and have served in the pastorate a good many years, although at no time a large number." The Seventh Day Baptists report "two or three during the last forty years." "Quite a number. Complete data not easily available" comes from the Christian Church General Convention. The Churches of God in North America, General Eldership, ordain

women on an equality with men: "Probably a dozen in the last forty years. Until recently they were not admitted to all the annual elderships."

The *Congregational Year Book for 1927* lists exactly one hundred women ministers in full standing, so constituted by ordination and membership in an association or conference of Congregational ministers, or of Congregational ministers and a local church. Four were thus ordained in 1927. Many of these women are pastors in charge of local churches. Some are joint pastors with their husbands. At least four are foreign missionaries, two are secretaries of church boards, one is field representative for woman's work in her state, another is director of town and country church work in another state, one is professor of Biblical Literature in Mt. Holyoke College, another is dean of women at a state normal school. "My own denomination has given me opportunities equal to that offered any man" is the convinced judgment of one of these pastors. No record was quoted as to the numbers in previous years either in this body or that of the Disciples of Christ, the official

correspondent of which, however, said that about one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty were listed at the time of his reply. One of these women, the new president of the International Association of Women Preachers, was a missionary board secretary of envied experience before becoming ordained and assuming her present pastoral relationship.

Nor can one learn the number of women who have been ministers in the Society of Friends. Its inception nearly three hundred years ago began an effective demonstration of the principle of equality of the sexes in the business, educational, and spiritual features of a religious society. The statement, "fewer women are entering the ministry than formerly," submitted by one correspondent, may possibly be interpreted by the comment of another: "In general, I may say that no official distinction whatever is made in our body in the use of men and women in its work. Practically, since the introduction of the pastoral system in our 'progressive' yearly meetings, a decided preference is invariably expressed for men as shepherds of our flocks, although we do have a considerable number of women pastors."

The Primitive Methodist Church from its origin and in its constitution, places women on an equal plane with men from the lowest to the highest offices, including their ordination as ministers, although only one such has been ordained in the last five years. The Methodist Protestant Church, organized in 1830, settled the question of ordination for women in 1880 when Anna Howard Shaw, a member of another branch of that Methodist Church, a graduate of one of its theological schools, and a regularly appointed pastor to one of its charges, ineligible to ordination by her own church, received the authority of this rite from this more hospitable conference. Since that time about a score of women have received similar sanction. Although there is no difference in the status of ordained men and ordained women in the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion, and no bar but lack of votes would prevent such an one from becoming a bishop, yet not many have received ordination.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church has ordained about fifty women in the last ten years under the same conditions as govern

the men. In answer to the question, "Have men any objections to working on an equality with women in the Church? If so, is it because they feel that the Scriptures forbid women taking leadership in the Church?" a Kentucky woman pastor thus responds, "I have not discovered it. I have been in the ministry nearly forty years and am still working with my home people. I do not think they question my right."

"Seventeen women ministers are now on the list of the Unitarian Church, and there have been many others during the last fifty years." This group, "organized only a hundred years ago, was democratic from the first, and women and men have served together in pulpit and pew." The Universalists first ordained women to the ministry in 1868 and at present there are fifty-six in such fellowship. The total number of those ordained was not given, however.

The United Brethren in Christ ordain women on an equality with men, but probably not more than twenty-five have been ordained. This reply and that of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion are noteworthy because both churches are administered by bishops, who appoint the ordained pastor to her charge,

as distinguished from those denominations where each congregation calls and installs its own pastor, who is ordained at a local church instead of "taking orders" at an Annual Conference or other convocation.

The answers to the questions, "Are women ordained?" and, "Have they full status in the ordained ministry?" are also noteworthy as they refer to the Free Methodist and the Methodist Episcopal churches. An official of the former writes, "Our Annual Conferences have received women into their membership and they are eligible to deacon's orders, which means that they may marry, administer the Lord's Supper, and baptize, etc. They are not ordained elders and cannot be elected to the superintendency of the district or as a bishop. In the event that a woman is an ordained deacon and her husband is a member of the Annual Conference, she is an honorary member only until such time as her husband surrenders his credentials or dies."

Any statement of the position of the latter church must be related as a serial story, the numbers of which are dated 1920, 1924, and 1928, with the concluding chapter rather

anticipated in 1932, the date of the next General Conference. In 1920 women were entitled to become "licensed local preachers," a provision formerly existing but revoked in 1880, and as such could be appointed as "supplies" to vacant pastoral charges. A commission was appointed whose terms of reference covered "the expediency of granting to women ordination and admission to the annual conferences." In 1924 this commission reported that while a woman's call to preach was not involved in any legislative action, the ordination of women and admission into conference would introduce difficulties, since the connectional policy guarantees a church to every effective minister as appointed. Ordination was recommended, and the necessary provisions were enacted. Women were admitted into the course of study for local preachers, and on the conclusion of five of these units they might be ordained local deacons, authorized "to preach, to conduct Divine worship; to solemnize matrimony; to administer baptism, and to *assist* the elder in administering the Lord's Supper." After two years, and passing another unit of the course, they might be ordained local elders and become

still further empowered to *administer* the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But they were still laymen, *local or lay preachers.*

By 1928 at least one hundred and twelve women had been ordained deacons, and sixteen of these had gone on to their elders' order. To the General Conference in May, 1928, came memorials from several conferences asking that women be admitted to Annual Conference membership. In other words, that these women preachers be *ministers* and not *laymen.* The committee to which these were referred voted thirty-one to twenty-one for nonconcurrence. In the debate on the floor of the conference which followed the reading of the majority and the minority reports it was stated that there were now 120 women pastors placed and doing excellent work. One of the speakers in favour of the minority report said, "Please note that no Conference is under obligation to receive a woman unless it wants to. It judges every individual case just as it judged some of us years ago. It might make a mistake just as often. Please note also that the trend is rapid in this direction. The Methodist Episcopal Church's advance, however, is rather slow.

In our city (New York State) is a pastor, not a Methodist of course, a woman recognized as one of the best in the city. In our conference we have two girls doing fine work, and it is not difficult to place them at all. It is unjust to them and to us that they cannot be associated with the rest of us. I want to read a little paper: 'Resolved That to women there be granted the same ministerial rights and privileges as are granted to men: provided, however, that this shall not be so construed as to prevent suitable regulation concerning Conference relationship in case of marriage.'" Thirty-four of the best-known names of ministers in the General Conference delegations were appended. The majority report of nonconcurrence was adopted, but before the delegates assemble for their next General Conference in 1932, they may all gain a more exact and more widespread knowledge of woman's place in the ministry of their own denomination as well as that of other communions. These "suitable regulations after marriage" may be akin to those cited for the Free Methodist Church, or may be worked out otherwise. Those who will study the subject are assured of companions in

their quest, since the Conference of the Wesleyan Church of England has just declared this principle: "A woman who believes herself called of God to the Christian ministry in our Church may offer under the same regulations as apply to men. Details as to candidature, training, finance, and marriage are remitted for further consideration to the committee."

The community churches of which perhaps twelve hundred are found in one form or another have called women pastors in some places. One such writes that she believes that "woman is peculiarly fitted for this kind of harmonizing and constructive work" because of her vision of the future church as "one fold and one Shepherd" and her sense of the "need of eliminating controversy and arguments over speculative questions."

Lest it would seem that these foregoing instances indicate all the opportunity to preach for which a woman might ask, it is well to remember that in many of the large communions, the Lutheran, the Presbyterian, the Protestant Episcopal, and the Reformed, this is not the case. Since in certain of these denominations they are not admitted as members

of any of the local or higher legislative bodies, it is, therefore, not strange that such churches withhold the greater dignity of endorsing them as clergymen, who are usually regarded as leaders of laymen and laywomen. Occasional members of these denominations have received ordination under other auspices, and at times women from other communions have preached in these pulpits, but that is merely incidental.

In spite of the fact that Canon Raven's plea is made to one communion alone, to a sacramental church, a state church, and that of a neighbouring country, most of the negative arguments he finds enunciated there are voiced also in America by those who uphold the negative in the debate. Some conscientious objectors believe that men would drop their ecclesiastical responsibilities if women were to be considered worthy or capable of sharing them. Anyone who listened in to the presidential nomination conventions of 1928 where women were participating did not remark any lack of political zeal on the part of the men whose forces had been femininely augmented by the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment, which brought in all our women of twenty-one

and over, for we were not as conservative as Great Britain, which in 1918 enfranchised its women of thirty years of age and over, and ten years later added the "Flapper Vote" granting suffrage equivalent to ours.

If one conceives of "the Church," either the Church universal, or one denominational group of the universal Church, as an institution fixed in its apostolic forms rather than as the living body of Christ, its head, then changes might seem impossible. That no one does so consider it, is evident from the different interpretations put upon the constitution of that apostolic Church, and the evolution of denomination after denomination, and sect after sect, in accordance with such interpretations. Among the changes still being wrought to meet twentieth century conditions can be named the formation of community churches whereby a company of Christ's disciples gather for worship according to their united belief in Him as their Saviour rather than by regard of the denominational history or heritage of each communicant.

The fear has long been expressed that much would be lost by the removal of the prohibitions against ordaining women and calling them to

pastorates. The fear is now being expressed that something is being lost by not removing these prohibitions. Speaking in terms of gain instead of loss, what is it reasonable to suppose might be the gain to the cause of Christ and His righteousness in the United States if Canon Raven's premises should be agreed to and his conclusions acted upon?

Would it not be this: First, a return to the practice of Jesus Christ and the early Church in welcoming women to the fellowship of the Gospel and in using their ministry *in accordance with the social customs of the day*. Second, recruits for the ranks of preachers from among the young women who have been classmates in colleges and theological seminaries of the young men candidates who have been presenting themselves in less than sufficient numbers—a dearth which we hear constantly lamented. Third, the employment of women's inherent gifts, not competing with the ministry of men but supplementing it. Canon Raven's comment on the English war workers, "They brought with them what few men possess: the personal touch, the sense of personal values, which we with our concern for problems and abstract

principles so easily lose," is only half of the case. The other half is that women with their resourcefulness may work out new forms of preaching, new avenues through which the soul may find God, just as the English situation led to the introduction of the Pilgrims. Fourth, a general increase of interest in religion and in religious education among women and girls, as it is recognized that the churches allow and expect women to take a full share in their leadership: at present the disabilities attaching to women's work react unfavourably upon the whole attitude of women towards the study and service of Christianity. Fifth, the adoption of a more Christlike outlook upon personal, social, and political problems on the part of the churches as these, by taking women into full partnership in their councils, assume a more human because less purely masculine character. The absence of woman's distinctive contribution weakens and to some extent distorts the witness of the Church on many prominent moral and spiritual issues. Those who have had full experience of it will realize most easily the advantages that equal coöperation between men and women might give. Women may sew

together the new wine skins which will hold fresh revelations of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus and of His power to resolve the perplexities of thinking, praying Christians to-day. But such mental processes are now too often inhibited.

4. The Place of the Church in the Life of Women

The close relation between the woman movement and the future of Christianity has not been so clearly seen in America as in England. All of us have heard British speakers who made plain that Christianity would not come into its own unless the expanding capacities of women could find room within. Any loyal churchwoman is reluctant to enumerate what she feels Christianity has lost because any communion has by legislation or custom fixed a wide gulf between men Christians and women Christians; but any such churchwoman can discern and say without hesitation, although with regret, that the church holds only a "relative place" in the life of many Christian women to-day.

Measurable criteria as to what this place should be are still to be discovered and formu-

lated. One group conceives of a programme as large as ingenuity and personnel and funds can contrive, all centring in the church edifice, the religious education building, the parish house, the settlement house—or at least in the church and the parsonage—and writes down as one that loves her church that woman whose engagement book and purse most nearly correspond to the consequent demands. An alternative group conceives of the Church as a recruiting agency for all kinds of interdenominational and civic movements, and credits the woman busily engaged in these as most nearly carrying out the Spirit of Christ. The group intervening between these two believes that the Church is a place in which to worship God in company with fellow Christians, and to receive inspiration for service to Him in the church, and the home, and the place of business, also through many community enterprises which have been founded in the Spirit of Christ to do work which He must certainly wish His followers to accomplish.

One of the questionnaires in the survey on the Relative Place of Women in the Church was sent to social workers to determine their

relationship. Most of those who replied held church membership. By some of these the habit of church attendance had been abandoned. By others corporate worship in a church of their own or some congenial communion was the source of light and power for the strain and drain of the week ahead. The same might probably be found true in the case of other groups of professional women, such as teachers or nurses.

Of longer standing is the matter of those women who faced, twenty, thirty, forty years ago, the question of their life work. Often they were minister's daughters, graduating from college with young men also desiring a Christian profession. In most instances these young men left the college campus to meet again in a theological seminary where all were looking toward ordination in their own church. A young woman who might be certain that she also had heard a voice saying, "The Master is come, and calleth for thee," had very little choice as to openings if she were not free to leave this country under foreign mission appointment. If she, like her brother, perhaps, was under obligation to recoup her educational

investment by earning money for family support or other purposes, she could not become a deaconess. There were few home mission posts; local church positions were almost unknown, or were filled by mature women chosen for their adaption to house-to-house visiting and the conduct of mothers' meetings. The Young Women's Christian Association was a possibility, as it was one of the earliest religious and social organizations to depend upon women's leadership both volunteer and professional. But she usually became a public school teacher, at least for a time, pressing into her Sundays and occasional weekday hours that eager devotion to religious activities—of course her teaching was *Christian* work—which would have led her into the ministry if she had been a man.

True it is that the Young Women's Christian Association and the later welfare agencies have gained mightily. In the summer of 1902 the American Committee's Summer Institute for Secretaries was held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Four of the national secretaries were in charge. Three of them were ministers' daughters, and there is every reason to think that

they would have followed their fathers into the Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal ministry had that been permitted. Of the fifty or more students three should be mentioned: One was the niece of the greatest evangelist of his generation. Had she asked her church, the Congregational, for ordination there would doubtless have been difficulty in finding a local church which would call her as pastor. Another was a returned missionary, the daughter of one of the board secretaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The third was a high-school principal, one of a family of ministers and missionaries to which belonged the best beloved missionary bishop of the same denomination. Each gave a quarter of a century "to the glory of God and in service of young women," one chiefly as secretary of the World's Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association, and the other as General Secretary of its National Board in New York City.

Not every woman in the twentieth century who wishes to fulfil a religious vocation will wish to become a preacher any more than every man seriously regarding his stewardship of life desired that in any preceding century

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CHAPTER I

THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMANHOOD

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It is a platitude in these days to say that we live in a period of change more far-reaching in its effects than any recorded in history. It is almost a platitude to suggest that the extent to which our outlook and way of life is being transformed is so vast that none of us can rightly estimate its scope or foresee its results. It is perhaps not a platitude to state that the most important and critical of all the movements now reshaping human affairs is also the one to which the least attention is given. Yet for many of us such is the case.

If asked what were the chief influences at work in producing the modern era, most people would point first to the scientific movement and to the vast increase of knowledge, which has revolutionized every aspect of man's intellectual life; then to its child, the industrial movement, which has given us the huge resources that have enabled an expansion of population beyond

the wildest dreams of a century ago; then to the new social order now coming to birth in the age of democracy; and finally to the development of internationalism and the world-wide unification of humanity. Every one of us is aware of these things whether we welcome or dislike them: they have come to stay; and despite the pessimists mankind will in time learn to use them wisely. But along with them has come a change even more fraught with possibilities, a change which is altering the whole basis of human life and silently reforming for good or evil each one of us. This change has been achieved by the higher education of women and is symbolized by their admission to equal citizenship: and whether as triumph or as tragedy, it is by far the most critical element in the whole of the present situation. For in overthrowing the traditional relationship of the sexes it affects something as old as Eden, and far more fundamental than any matter of nationality or class, of material possessions or philosophies or creeds. "He for God only, she for God in him"; he the breadwinner, she the housewife; he the leader, she his subordinate; he to endow, she to obey; however we phrase it,

here is an assumption as old as the cave-dweller or the anthropoid ape, an assumption which has controlled the whole social existence of mankind. And we in the twentieth century are witnessing the abandonment of that assumption, and are almost oblivious of the immense and incalculable consequences that will inevitably follow.

Queer is it not? that we should fill the presses with news about aeroplanes and wireless, housing and armaments, racial contacts and the League of Nations; and yet give hardly a thought to an issue beside which such topics seem almost ephemeral trifles. We read with admiration of the success of a woman swimmer or a woman architect, and are mildly interested in the Flapper Vote, and send our daughters away to school and college and out into the professions. But of the revolution in which we and they are assisting we seem almost unconscious. It is perhaps a proof of the magnitude of the event that its coming should pass unnoticed. Perhaps the other great and radical changes came similarly unannounced—when man learned to domesticate the animals, when he became an agriculturist, when he

gave up the nomadic for the settled habitation, when he built the first city or designed the first boat, when Babylon, Egypt, Rome fell into decay. We like to think that history is the record of great men and dramatic events; and that is in its measure true. But there are movements slower and less public of which the world has hardly been aware and whose authors have left no memorial except a changed world; movements involving a vast unnamed mass of ordinary men and women through whose half-conscious agency life was transformed.

It is no part of our present purpose to describe the emancipation of woman or to predict its influence. To do so would need historical research and prophetic insight—and treatment on the grand scale. Our concern is merely to question the wisdom of those who ignore the change that is taking place; to urge that it is by far the most critical issue of the day; and then to consider what should be the attitude of the Church towards one consequence of it, the claim for the admission of women to Holy Orders. The two former of these three points must be treated briefly.

1. The general neglect of the influence and indeed of the fact of the altered status of woman is sufficiently obvious to the most casual student of the newspapers. He cannot but notice that women are discharging duties which a generation ago were denied to them. He has possibly been treated by a woman doctor, advised by a woman lawyer, addressed by a woman politician, reported by a woman journalist; certainly he has bought from businesses managed by women goods manufactured by them. He knows that more and more they are competing on equal terms with men in the public life, the professions, the industries and the administrative departments. Often he sees their successes proclaimed—though always in a tone of surprise. Yet to the wider bearings of this new thing he and his newspaper are almost impervious. It is seldom or never discussed by the politician or the industrialist, the sociologist or the churchman. It might worthily monopolize their attention.

Two recent examples within my own immediate knowledge will show how widespread is this neglect.

A few months ago I was consulted by a group

of social students about the syllabus of a dictionary of Christian Sociology. It was a full and careful list, covering every sort of heading from Charles Kingsley to the Bourgeoisie, and from Guild Socialism to Tariff Reform. But no single reference was made in any way to women—feminism, women's suffrage, women's work and wages, sex antagonism, women in politics, all were simply omitted. Here was sociology with its most difficult problems shirked.

Last year it was my privilege to contribute an essay on the Church to a volume on *The Future of Christianity*. I devoted two lines of it to a statement that room would have to be found for the ministry of women. The essay was miserably inadequate: to treat of the Church and Sacraments in five thousand words is to ask for condemnation. But the learned Bishop who wrote the introduction chose to castigate me for the "emphasis given to the ministry of women" which "will seem to most people disproportionate and to many offensive," and which he dubbed a "precarious speculation."

2. Scanty as is the literature having regard to the importance of the subject, the enormous

possibilities for good or for evil inherent in the emancipation of women are clear enough. If cautious lawyers like Pollock and Maitland could write of "that curious cabinet of antiquities, the marriage ritual of the English Church," we can see how great an alteration in the traditional relationship of the sexes has been accomplished. But its consideration is almost confined to partisan propagandists. On the one side we have those who declare roundly that emancipation is disaster, who predict sex-warfare, racial suicide, the break-up of the family, the collapse of female health and morals, the ruin of nations, the reversion to promiscuity and an ultimate barbarism. On the other there are the prophets of an immediate millennium of peace and purity, of universal comradeship, of social regeneration, political sanity, and industrial ease, a golden age when sex shall take its true and subordinate place in human affairs and every child, boy or girl, shall grow up free and equal.

Examined in closer detail and with less exaggeration the women's movement is still seen to raise issues of enormous gravity in every department of life. In the fundamental ques-

tion of sex-relations it is plain that the view that woman must be dependent either as spinster upon her relatives or as wife upon her husband is already falsified. There was twenty years ago the pessimistic school of which Strindberg's play, *The Father*, is an example, and which claimed some support from the more unbalanced feminists. To them it seemed that if male mastery was undermined it would be succeeded by a period of strife, of "free love," and ultimately of matriarchy. That evil dream has passed. That we shall reach without serious catastrophe the level on which an equal partnership between men and women, with the endowment of motherhood as the chief but not the sole or only profession for women, can become the general basis of society is now almost certain. But disaster is not impossible: for the attitude which treats woman either as angel or as plaything is hard to overthrow: men have not yet passed seraglio point; and there is a handful of women who will advocate for their sex the lower moral standard that convention has hitherto permitted to the male. But there are abundant signs that the free comradeship at present realized in our uni-

versities and in many spheres of work is producing an enrichment of life for both sexes and a new type of clean and, in the full sense, monogamous marriage. So much is heard of the thoughtless frivolity and selfish refusal of parenthood among the younger moderns that it is necessary to remember that instances of degradation are relatively few. The marriages resulting from the first love of boy and girl, unspoiled and open-eyed, equal in education, in interests and in capacity, are far more numerous, and result in a rich and wholesome family-life.

As regards education, it may well be doubted whether at present the girls' schools have not been too ready to copy the curriculum and methods traditional for boys. Universities may wisely hesitate to prescribe identical teaching and examinations for both sexes. But this is rather a matter of the hours of work, the type of recreation, and the stress laid upon fixed examinations—in all of which the present system is essentially man-made—than of the level of scholarship or the choice of subjects. It is probable that the academic type of ability is commoner among men than women: but it

should not be the true goal of education to produce only dons. As we recognize the honourable character of other callings and carry forward the present process of enlarging the curriculum so as to give scope to artistic and practical talent, we shall reach towards a system of training in which both can share. And the adjustment of minor details, mainly with a view to meeting the physical differences which, though easily exaggerated, exist and ought to be recognized, is not difficult to arrange.

In the matter of careers larger problems have to be faced. At present there is a strong tendency to exploit women workers, to encourage them to undersell men, and to create conditions which press unfairly upon the man with a family. The old system in which the man "keeps" his wife, and her motherhood is unendowed, will not pass at once. The principle of the equal wage for equal work is sound enough if the community recognizes that the housewife and mother is discharging a vocation. At present and until then it is unattainable. Insurance and unemployment benefit have palliated some of the worst conse-

quences of the underselling of male labour: but we are very far from having reached a satisfactory settlement of a grave situation; and are too much inclined here as elsewhere to "muddle along" and trust that the position will settle itself. That the admission of women to a share in the work of the world is in fact creating a new ordering of society is certain: in what shape the present chaos will be precipitated is at present a matter of speculation. It is probably the most important issue confronting the statesman: being a creature of limited capabilities, like the rest of us, he too often prefers to deal with smaller and easier tasks.

Grave as are the difficulties, one fact at least is clear. The old subjection is over. We cannot return to the unemancipated, uneducated womanhood. And no one who seriously cares for human welfare would desire us to do so. Indeed at a time when it is the custom to be pessimistic, to criticize and deplore, it is clear that we have in the new womanhood something for which we can be unreservedly thankful. Beautiful as were the rare flowers of femininity produced in earlier days, they were poor compensation for the wasted lives, the thwarted

powers, the futility and bitterness of the vast majority of their sisters. In all the records of heroism there will be found few finer stories than those of the women of the last generation who braved obloquy and rebuffs and the gossip of foul tongues in order to win freedom in the professions and in social life. And on their work we shall not go back. For whatever may be the dangers, no one can see much of the younger women and girls of to-day without gratitude and admiration. Some of them may be a little loud, a few are hard and cruel; some break under the strain or the excitement: they have not yet altogether found their feet or learned to use freedom and carry responsibility: that will come; and meanwhile how splendidly they are shaping. Even the "die-hard" who professes his contempt for the "modern girl" is not slow to send his daughters to school, and in his heart of hearts is proud of their prowess.

The war was, to most of us, a revelation of the resources that the country possessed and had hitherto failed to use in its womanhood. Wherever one went—and I had the normal experience at home and in France—working quietly and without fuss or advertisement,

efficiently and with an unfailing cheerfulness, was some woman, often middle-aged, often without technical training, a woman doing her job and diffusing around her a sweetness and a sanity which were beyond price. No wonder they were given the vote: they were comrades and more than comrades: for they brought with them what few men possess, the personal touch, the sense of personal values, which we with our concern for problems and abstract principles so easily lose. If they can take their full place in public life without sacrificing their distinctive quality, and can learn neither to imitate men nor to conflict with them, we shall see an era of government, human and humane, high-principled and sensitive, such as the world has not known. We shall have the life of the best kind of family.

To hasten that consummation (which we must either reach or perish; for we cannot go back) should be the aim of all forward-looking folk. The risks of failure are enormous: no national disaster, no industrial crisis is comparable in its possibilities with it: but we cannot evade the issue; and therefore should dedicate our best efforts to secure a worthy result. The

attitude of those who stand aloof and expect nothing, and gloat over every instance of woman's failures is not only mean and foolish; it is a betrayal of humanity in its greatest present adventure.

If the situation is critical, the crisis is in fact now upon us. The generation of women leaving school to-day is the first to enter upon full equality in citizenship and social life. No future generation will have to meet so difficult a task, for there are as yet few precedents and little experience available. It will rest with them either to fulfil or to frustrate the hopes of the pioneers who won them this freedom: the use of the opportunity will decide the future for those who come after. No women have borne a greater responsibility or are being more closely watched. They deserve the encouragement and help of all well-wishers of humanity.

CHAPTER II

WOMANHOOD AND THE CHURCH

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FEW, if any, of those who know the facts will venture to maintain that the Women's Movement does not mark a notable stage in the forward march of humanity: none will wish to go back to the old days. For the Christian it seems impossible to deny that this thing is of God. Jesus came that we might have life and have it more abundantly. His Gospel with its emphasis upon the sanctity of personality and the equality in God's sight of all His children, and His special recognition and acceptance of the ministry and gifts of women demand that all human beings should be encouraged to reach up to fullness of stature and to the dedication of their talents to the service of His Kingdom. We rejoice that after very many centuries of misunderstanding Christians learned that His religion was inconsistent with slavery, and that they are now realizing that conditions which cramp and thwart the

development of man's capacity for perfection must be removed. The Church stands for the education and use of every good gift, for the æsthetic, intellectual, moral and spiritual welfare of all humanity, for the removal of the hindrances to equality of opportunity. As such, the Church surely welcomes a change which has enabled women to develop and exercise their powers, to contribute freely to the art and knowledge, the welfare and fellowship of the Kingdom of God. No Christian, nor any normal person, will doubt that the home is the most precious of human institutions, that for men and women alike home-life and the welfare of the family is of supreme importance. But they will maintain that the attitude which not only confined women to the home but refused to them the possibility of education except on the narrowest lines, or of any sort of independence, or of a career, or of citizenship was essentially unchristian. The impoverishment of the world, as well as the wastage and tragedy of the lives of myriads of women under the old circumstances are only too evident now that we are discovering how many and various are the talents of womanhood.

Even those who dislike and distrust certain tendencies of the present emancipation will hardly maintain that the whole movement is in the wrong direction. And, if so, they may well be asked to adopt Gamaliel's position, lest they be found fighting against God.

For me, and I think for the immense majority of us, nothing is more obviously Christian than the change from the old régime to the new. We are sure that the Spirit of God is manifest in the development of girls' schools, the admission of women to the Universities, the opening of the professions to them. We believe that on the whole the Women's Movement is the noblest and most Christian achievement of the past century. "By their fruits ye shall know them": we know how fine are the fruits of the new womanhood; we are thankful for what they are giving and will give to the world; and to deny the worth of their higher education and equal citizenship would be for us the sin against the Holy Ghost: it would be to ascribe to Beelzebub what is evidently of God.

That a change so far-reaching should have its dangers, is only to be expected. Considering the power of convention, the difficulty of ad-

justing habits and organizations to the new conditions, and the likelihood that liberty will be misused, it is almost a miracle that the new order should have come so easily and imperceptibly. To those who were brought up under the old notions of propriety and chaperonage, the present almost unrestricted liberty must seem shockingly perilous. And we hear much in certain quarters of the moral depravity of the young people of to-day. It is always difficult to generalize fairly on such a subject: judgment is biased by temperament or by personal and limited experience. But many of us would maintain that the evidence points not to a fall but to a large and definite improvement in morality, both in actual purity of conduct and still more in the tone and outlook of men and women. Whether or no there are more numerous lapses may be hard to discover. Statistics on the subject are almost unobtainable, and those derived from the records of illegitimacy or of disease are admittedly misleading. We can only speak from experience; and for myself from a fairly large knowledge of the student world I should say without hesitation that, thanks to freer comradeship with

women, the morality of boys and young men at the schools and universities is higher than it was, and that I see no evidence of a serious lowering of the standard in their sisters. They know of and discuss with freedom matters on which their elders were ignorant or silent: in certain small but much advertised circles there is an open advocacy of sexual license, but the vast majority is clean-minded and self-controlled. Mercenary or forced intercourse is much more generally repudiated than in the past; and to the ordinary youngster of either sex there is a comradeship which may ripen into love but for which intimacy on other terms is simply unthinkable. Contrast this comradeship which is making it possible for boys and girls to meet freely, to work and play together, without scandal or any taint of evil, with the attitude of a century and a half ago. Then it was assumed as a matter of course that a young man if left alone with a girl would be lacking in virility if he did not make "an assault upon her virtue": having suffered his passion, his victim was ruined unless he "made an honest woman of her" by what was almost necessarily a godless marriage. Can anyone for a moment

maintain that the present outlook towards matters of sex is not vastly more Christian than that assumed in *The Vicar of Wakefield* or described in *Hetty Wesley?*

And if there are risks, if opportunity often leads to indulgence, surely it is the task of the Church to do all in its power to reinforce and guide the purity of boys and girls. Young women are now going out from home as their brothers have done to find and follow their work in the world. No one who has lived in lonely lodgings in a great city will doubt the existence of temptation: no one but will feel that help is often sorely needed. Those who have homes or relatives or friends or a club are fortunate, but even for them the Church should have its own gifts to offer. Those who are now living independently require the sympathy and strength which religion can give, if they are to keep their ideals and their conduct high. We want a number of people qualified to advise and befriend the business girl; to minister to her moral and spiritual welfare; to direct her life, whether by discussion or by the sacrament of confession and absolution. If woman's freedom is of God, and if she needs His help to

use it aright, the Church cannot be blind to its obligation.

1. If this thing is of God, then surely the Church as the expression and instrument of God's spirit cannot refuse to welcome and use it. Women have won their entrance into all the learned professions: they have risen to eminence in art and architecture, medicine and education; they are establishing themselves in the law-courts and the House of Commons; in every sphere of life except the fighting services their help is welcomed. For they have proved that they are qualified, and that the new and highly educated type of womanhood has a great contribution to make to the welfare of the world. Only in the Church is the old order still dominant: only in the Church is there no free scope for the exercise of their talents by women: only in the Church is it assumed that women are by the fact of sex inferior to men and incapable of service except under conditions of strict subservience.

No Christian would wish for a moment to minimize the value of what women workers have done and are doing. The devoted lives of the multitudes who teach in Sunday Schools,

conduct Bible Classes, organize societies, visit in their districts, and care for the cleaning and decoration of the churches, and of those who offer a fuller dedication of themselves in sisterhoods or as deaconesses is beyond all praise. Every clergyman or minister knows how largely he depends upon them, and admires the loyalty and zeal, the self-sacrifice and humility with which their work is done. But it is obvious that the scope of such work is determined upon the axiom that women can only act as subordinates: it is appropriate to the time when women were largely uneducated, when they had no experience of affairs outside the home, when initiative and independence were never conceded to them, when they had little possibility of scholarship and none of administrative control or of public speaking, when "men must work and women must weep," or pray, was accepted as truth. That state of affairs has passed away. No one can nowadays deny that women can be and are capable of theological learning, of parochial or diocesan administration, of preaching, of evangelism, of the cure of souls. No one who knows their work at first hand will doubt for one moment that such women as Miss

Evelyn Underhill, Miss Gollock, Miss Hankey and Miss Maud Royden are qualified to take their place in the front rank of living Church members, qualified for the highest office if fitness is the condition of appointment to it. And no one who knows the Universities will deny that there is a large supply of young women who could and would bring to every department of religious life an invaluable contribution. It has been my privilege to have been an Examining Chaplain to three bishops for sixteen years, and I can say without hesitation that I know literally dozens of women far more fit for ordination than the majority of the men now being accepted; and this not because the men are of poor quality, but because the women are better. We have had constant complaints and innumerable reports bewailing the dearth of candidates: the parochial system is in fact in grave danger of breaking down: the number of men from the public schools and universities who desire to be ordained is admittedly quite inadequate. It is really tragic that the Church's work should be starved because we refuse to recognize and accept the offering of the new womanhood.

It will of course be urged that these women, if they exist, should be satisfied with the present position and should accept admission as deaconesses or service as church workers. Some of them are willing to do so: and with what result? They find that they are relegated to duties in which they are given no freedom to use their gifts, where they are obliged to subordinate their own views and personalities to a curate or vicar, where they are regarded too often as cheap and undesirable substitutes for anything male, and where, if they possess distinctive talents they are debarred from using them. Officially their status is that of total inferiority; and it is at least doubtful whether any woman of ability is justified in accepting conditions which deny to her the power to use her gifts to the full.

For the majority, and I believe rightly, the natural course is clear. They wish to devote their lives to the service of God and of their fellows. They realize that the Church does not want them except on terms which make fullness of service impossible. They must employ their talents, not bury them. And they turn to educational, medical, social or political work

as to spheres in which they can give of their best. Take a concrete case. A student who has taken a double first and whose soul is aflame with desire to serve Christ, comes to me for advice. Can I, could any man, urge her to become a deaconess when he knows that this means that she will be regarded by her parson as a whole-time district visitor, a curate with a lower salary who is no use for preaching or administering the sacraments, for an independent charge, for theological research, or for any of the more advanced work of his parish? There are in our diocese perhaps four or five men as well qualified as she is academically: she will have to work all her life under a system which assigns to her less opportunity than to the most illiterate curate. No one could honestly allow her to consider such a use of her life. It is not sacrifice, it is criminal folly, to use a razor to cut stakes out of a hedge; it would be criminal folly to urge such a woman to undertake a task wholly unsuited to her temperament and abilities. There are diversities of gifts among women as among men; but at present the Church allows scope to women on the assumption that they are incapable of leadership,

of preaching, of any equality with men or any freedom to exercise special qualities. I can only say to such a woman that the Church cannot give her the opportunity of service suited to her; that it would be wrong to regard the burial of her talent as an act of self-sacrifice; that she must seek her ministry elsewhere. And then I must return to the difficult business of preparing ill-qualified men for a calling which will always be too hard for them. We will discuss the arguments by which this state of affairs is defended later. It is sufficient here to note the facts and to sum them up: the Women's Movement has developed a large number of women fully qualified for the ministry; the Church needs their gifts; it ought not to meet their offers with a system framed under the old régime, but should admit them when qualified and trained to Ordination.

2. If there is to-day special need that the Church should advise and help the new womanhood, there is a clear case for entrusting such a task to women priests. There are of course many who object to any special priesthood, who believe that all "professional" office, and indeed all institutional religion, is a mis-

take. They will urge that the social worker or Church member can do all that is required, and will oppose the ordination of women on grounds which would logically involve opposition to the ordination of men. Others, however (and they include the majority of Christians), even if they maintain the priesthood of the laity, believe that the ancient vocation to the cure of souls and the administration of sacraments is at present and is likely to be essential; and yet these would limit that calling to men, leaving such ministry if exercised by women deprived of sacramental means, unofficial and unaccredited. Yet if the cure of souls is necessary, it is surely needed as much for our daughters as for our sons; and at present when they are facing new and difficult problems, perhaps more so. Many of us, while in no way underestimating the invaluable help given by parents, friends and social workers, claim that the Church should supply a ministry qualified to deal with the spiritual needs of humanity, to hear confessions, to assure the penitent of forgiveness, and to advise in matters of conduct. At present men alone are entrusted with this work. And it is certain that in dealing with girls

and young women very few men indeed are capable of the task.

In theory it is often argued that the priest is impersonal, a representative of the Church, an ear and a voice: if so the question of sex does not arise, and women may be ordained. In practice he cannot be, and in his most intimate duties ought not to be, impersonal; for sympathy is healing and redemptive. Unless he can get alongside the penitent, and share troubles and temptations, and appreciate the nice distinctions of temperament and motive, he will not succeed in arriving at a true diagnosis or at providing a suitable remedy. It is through the medium of personal relationships, of confidence and comradeship that men and women understand and help one another. The cure of souls differs from the cure of bodies in that the healer cannot keep his own feelings detached; he must not be impassive and unsympathetic, else he will fail to heal.

Now there are men, a few men, who are perhaps worthy to enter into the intimacies of a girl's life without debasing it or themselves. Even with them I doubt if the natural modesty of womanhood is not injured by the discussion

of such temptations as come with adolescence. We object, and rightly, to the searching of female prisoners by men jailers. I do not think that most men are qualified or should venture to search the secrets of a woman's soul. And the risks of unpleasantness, of morbidity and even of moral disaster are too serious to be passed over in silence. The outcry against the abuse of the Confessional has been used for partisan propaganda until most of us are suspicious of its honesty. But no one can study the evidence in Catholic countries without realizing that priests are not sexless, and that for many of them, even if physically pure, the danger of a perverted and prurient imagination has been too strong. And in our own Church most of us are only too well acquainted with cases in which both priest and penitent have been morally injured, cases of men whose minds are diseased and of women whose feelings have been outraged.

Nor is it usually possible for men to enter into such close sympathy with young women as enables them to offer help in difficult problems. They do not know enough of the outlook and emotions of women to advise them wisely.

Just because we are men we know from experience the sort of trials that our lads have to face and the sort of safeguards that can be recommended. Does any man claim to have similar knowledge about women? Or does he suppose that without it his help will be of much value? Men and women can advise and assist one another in multitudes of ways: the delicate business of the cure of souls is not, I think, one in which people should normally minister to the opposite sex. And if any one asks "what about doctors?" I would urge that the parallel is not exact; for in the priest's case love is the chief means of effecting a cure.

Hence for those who believe in the value of a sacramental ministry with the priestly function of helping the tempted, the case for a body of women duly trained and ordained seems overwhelmingly strong. Such work should be done under authority from the Church: it cannot be properly done except by women: they should be commissioned for it.

CHAPTER III

THE CASE FOR THE ORDINATION OF WOMEN

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If the admission of women to fullness of life and in most spheres to equality of opportunity is of God, if it offers to the Church a new type of qualified minister, and if the need for such ministry be overwhelming, why is it that the Church as a whole meets the situation with a simple *non possumus*, evades its discussion, and frowns upon the advocates of reform? A variety of arguments are put forward, and shall be examined later. First we would set out the case for the ordination of women, basing our argument not upon expediency or upon sentiment but upon theological principle, and urging that so stated the matter cannot be brushed aside. We believe that it is essential to the true character of the Church that it should open all the grades of its ministry to men and women alike if they are qualified for them, and that it can only refuse to do so by being false to its own nature.

What then is the Church, and how did it develop its ministry?

It may seem impossible in view of our controversies to give any clear answer to such a question. But for Anglicans, and perhaps for most British Christians, the reply is not really difficult. Most of them would define the Church as the expression and instrument by which the Spirit of Christ operates in the world, His body, an organism not an organization. Its life is or should be His life: He alone is its animating principle: into Him we are baptized, with Him we have our communion, by Him acting through the outward and visible signs our membership is initiated, sustained, and enabled. The institution, its organized structure and particular ministries, stands to Him in a relation analogous to that which our physical frames bear to our personalities. Through hands and feet, heart and lungs, brain and nerves we enter into relationship with our environment: they serve and preserve the life of the self. When I am in health my body is responsive and obedient to my control; with it I can function freely and at will. In so far as it is inadequate or imperfect, I am hindered in the

expression of my nature and the fulfilment of my purposes. Thus too with the Church—the life of the Spirit of Christ has free course in the world only so far as the several members of the Body are suited to their tasks and discharge them effectively. Where they are lacking or defective, there the organism fails to be what Jesus was in the days of His flesh: it impedes the working of His Spirit, and the world is impoverished.

If this be granted it might suffice to point at once to the need for the Church to fulfil its function as the Body of Christ by ministering to the spiritual and moral needs of women, and to conclude that if it is to be worthy of its calling it must develop means by which it can do so more adequately. But the analogy of the organism will give us fuller guidance.

In the process of evolution it is clear that the physical structure has been developed in correspondence with the modification of its environment. The tadpole changes its breathing apparatus when it leaves the water: the bird is evolved from the reptile: man gains the power to walk upright, to make tools, to control his surroundings with ever new discoveries

and inventions. Biologists are not yet agreed as to whether, and if so how far, the effort of the living creature contributes to the development of new organs: but no one will doubt that man initiates the means by which he extends his resources: and in all cases the interaction between form and function is very intimate. Just so with the Church. In the early days its form was very simple: there was little specialization, and the offices were few. As new needs were discovered, new functions were exercised, and in time these were established and given authoritative status as part of its equipment. The development of the episcopate is characteristic. At first presbyters or elders, parallel to those in office in the Jewish synagogues, were the sole resident ministers though the deacon and deaconess might be appointed under them. Bishop was a title for the elder, and if it implied a difference this was not one of rank: the same men were called bishops, or presbyters, as if the words were synonymous. Then, under the stress of circumstances and the need for a single leader, the term bishop was appropriated to the president of the local Church. Gradually his func-

tions became distinct and the gulf between him and the presbyters widened as he assumed larger responsibilities. Finally his office became totally separate. In the same way, just as in the earliest days when the task of distributing relief became pressing the diaconate was established, so in later years other offices for men and women were set up in response to the demands of fresh circumstances. It is obvious that if this had not happened the Church could never have grown; for growth implies complexity, differentiation and adjustment of organ to environment. If the Church is alive it must still retain this power and can meet a new situation by creating an appropriate instrument. As the Spirit of Jesus reveals fresh tasks and calls us to undertake them, He must be given suitable means for their performance. Otherwise the Body fails to mediate between the life and its circumstances: it is dead not alive. To develop its ministerial system by admitting women to the priesthood would only be to continue the process by which the whole of the institutional structure of the Church has come into being.

Furthermore, if it is argued that the minis-

terial system is sacramental, the case becomes stronger still. A sacrament consists of two parts, the inward and spiritual and the outward and visible. In the sacrament of Holy Orders the inward is represented by the candidate's vocation, by his desire and fitness. This the Church tests, and if he is approved, the outward sign and authorization is conferred. Now what actually happened, for example, in the case of the episcopate, or in a non-sacramental office like that of abbess, was this. Certain tasks had to be done: they were undertaken by persons who felt a call to fulfil them and who were qualified to do so: then the Church recognizing the needs of the situation gave the appropriate authority. Offices and their outward signs were not created arbitrarily: they arose in order to sanction and regularize an existing function. The Spirit gives the call: the Church adopts a means of ratifying it. First the inward, then the outward is the sequence. The classic case is, of course, that of Cornelius—one of the decisive events in the expansion of Christianity. To St. Peter the idea that a Gentile could become a member of the Church was as unfamiliar, as revolutionary, as to some folks to-day is the

idea that a woman could become a priest. The Apostle was convinced by the fact that Cornelius had evidently received the Holy Ghost and was spiritually qualified. The proof was decisive: baptism, its outward and visible sign, could not be withheld. "Can any man forbid water, seeing that these have received the Holy Ghost even as we?" And the momentous reform was made.

At the present time it is certain that women feel the inward call to the priesthood, and further that they are in fact not only qualified to fulfil it but in many respects are already doing so. Most of us have had experience of the preaching of women, of their power to minister forgiveness (though not with the formula of absolution), of their real and spiritual priesthood: how can we deny that the Church should ratify what God has given? I have myself been admitted to a Fellowship by a woman; and I know that in bestowing upon me the token of membership she gave also the grace of an ordination as truly as any bishop. When this is the case, when the Spirit of Christ is operative through any of His disciples, the Church can only resist the evidence of His presence in them

at its peril. His call is compelling: "Woe is me if I preach not," or minister not: those who receive that call cannot but obey it. If the Church refuses to sanction and authorize their ministry, they will choose to obey God rather than man: and will inevitably minister outside the Church's ranks. That is what is already happening and what, but for the patience and devotion of the women themselves, would happen far more freely. The blindness of Anglicans led to the Wesleyan schism: our blindness in this matter is alienating many of the finest spirits from us: shall we again resist the Spirit of God to our own undoing?

And if it be argued that there is no warrant for the authorizing of women to administer sacraments, the point is easy to meet. Catholics will not lightly dismiss the authority of the Church of Rome; and Rome allows a woman, if necessity arises, to baptize. How this permission can be reconciled with the Roman theology of Holy Orders is not for me to say. The fact suffices. Given necessity, the valid administration of a sacrament by a woman minister is not inherently impossible: she can use the outward sign and convey the inward grace.

We see the Spirit of God continuing the work of Jesus, reconciling the world unto Himself, healing, redeeming, inspiring, uniting mankind. That Spirit operates through manifold channels and by a myriad agencies. Just so far as the Church represents and authorizes the means by which the divine energy operates, it is true to its calling. Jesus warned us that new wine would burst old bottles and must be provided with new ones. Here in the new womanhood is a true outpouring of the Spirit. We are striving as a Church to contain it within bottles designed for other uses, bottles capable of preserving the old vintage, but burst asunder by the new. The warning seems plain and unanswerable. Is it really worthy of the Church of Christ to spend years of effort in devising means by which it can give authorization to the need of the sick for the reserved sacrament, and to dismiss unconsidered the vastly greater spiritual change which the Women's Movement represents? God has given us this great and precious gift: few of us will dispute its novelty or its value for the world: yet almost none dare to realize that it creates a new opportunity and a new responsibility for

the Church. We labour to adjust our organization to the circumstances of the new urban areas: we do not care even to discuss its adjustment to the circumstances created by the higher education and full citizenship of women. The folly of it would be incredible if it were not actually happening. If the Church is what it claims to be, the embodiment of the Spirit of Christ, then since His Spirit is manifestly operative through the ministry of women, that ministry must have its accredited place in the organism: otherwise the Church is not truly or completely the expression and instrument of the will of God.

CHAPTER IV

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST IT

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To meet an issue so serious, so urgent, and so plainly justifiable, and to explain the hostility or indifference of Churchmen to it, we should expect that a great weight of argument could be marshalled. In point of fact the opponents of the admission of women to Holy Orders usually rely either upon convention ("Do what was done last time is thy rule") or upon puerilities. This attitude is admirably illustrated by St. Thomas Aquinas who relies entirely upon three points, the statement that woman's state is one of subjection, a text from the First Epistle to Timothy, and the fact that since her hair must be long she cannot receive the tonsure. In his day this was no doubt sufficient: it may be questioned whether most of us would be convinced by him to-day, though we have in fact few other arguments to use. Indeed at the last two meetings that I have addressed on this subject the only opposition came from a parson

who asked how women could represent God seeing that God was masculine, and from a layman who declared that young women should be looked after by their mothers and had no need for any other help—to which I suppose the only reply is *Sancta simplicitas* or its less polite English equivalent.

The arguments in fact fall into three groups —those based upon what St. Thomas calls woman's state of subjection, upon Scripture, and upon tradition and Catholic authority.

(*a*) *The Argument from General Principles*

1. The first group contains those which have been used to resist the whole emancipation of women. There is a type of Churchman who states *sans phrase* that woman as such is "incapable of the grace of Holy Order." For those who do not accept this as self-evident he will usually refer either to Eve and St. Paul or to the Canon Law. But occasionally he will try to explain, as well as to cite authorities. What "the grace" in question actually means is not too clear: for grace is surely a personal relationship with God that expresses itself in vocation and spiritual fitness. There is of course a use of

the term in which grace appears to be "a thing given," a talent, or capacity; and some people speak of it as if on the analogy of a birthday present or a pound of tea, as if it was independent of the receiver or procurable by purchase. Dr. Oman has sufficiently demonstrated how inadequate is any materialistic or quasi-materialistic conception of grace. Whatever the meaning, it is hard to see how women who unquestionably possess ministerial gifts can be said to be "incapable" of it.

If the argument is prolonged, the incapacity is usually supposed to consist in woman's physical and physiological characteristics. The belief that menstruation involves ceremonial uncleanness is not uncommon in the Canons, and this barbaric survival has been openly urged on at least one occasion in the past ten years and, alas, by a rather prominent Anglican priest. And the argument, if less crudely stated by others, in terms of temperamental instability is not infrequent. This has been so regularly urged by all the opponents of woman's advance that it may now be regarded as a mere formality. There are, no doubt, cases in which pathological symptoms recur: the possi-

bility has not prevented women from serving as doctors or members of Parliament: there is no justification for producing so tattered a relic once more.

Far more reasonable is the argument that marriage interferes with a woman's work more than with a man's, that ordination has always been a whole-time and life-long commission, and that therefore unless ordination is accompanied by vows of celibacy women ought not to be admitted. The matter is one of practical rather than theoretical difficulty. Few would argue that the experience of marriage or motherhood debarred a woman from ministering the knowledge and love of God: many would urge, with memory of their own mothers and wives, that it was the finest possible qualification. It is sufficient to reply that so long as men in priest's orders are allowed to spend their whole time in schoolmastering or to act as organizing secretaries, there is no valid reason why a woman priest should not be "seconded" from the full exercise of her office during the time when her home and family make demands on her. Experience has proved that matrimony and a career are not incompatible, and that adjustment

between the respective claims can usually be arranged quite simply.

More general is the argument that women are more subtly sexual than men, and that whereas a man ministering to women does so without exciting erotic emotion, this would not be the case if the woman was the minister. Assuming that women were chosen carefully and after due preparation I believe this to be an almost groundless fear; and would indeed go further and maintain that the fact of womanhood, far from being a hindrance, is an actual help, since many men respond to the spiritual influence of a woman who are indifferent to the ministry of their own sex. It is almost universally agreed that in the war the power of the women, who ran huts and canteens, and befriended the soldiers in classes and meetings, was enormously strong. Very many youngsters, both at home and in France, were kept straight by their influence: coming into contact with the sympathy of a good woman, they responded almost at once; their chivalry was aroused; their attitude towards womanhood ennobled. So,too, in civilian and parochial life there are many women who can "mother" and inspire young

men whom no man can touch. Sex so used is seen as what it is, a gift of God for the purifying and enriching of His children. Again it may be pointed out that exactly the same argument was brought against women doctors. We were told that it was indecent, that no man could tolerate it, that the result would be sex-consciousness and misery. Experience has refuted the assertion: and as one who has had a wound in the groin sewn up by a woman, I can testify that there was not the slightest unpleasantness for either of us, nor any consciousness of her sex or mine. We were doctor and patient.

This is, of course, the reply to the provisions of the Lambeth Conference that women should normally minister only to those of their own sex or to children. It has been already urged that for the intimate dealings of the cure of souls women will best understand and help women. But in less close relationships there are large spheres of work in which women could help men in a way that no man could do. The caution which suggests that there is something improper in a woman's preaching or praying in a mixed audience is really deplorable. A woman can lecture in public or address a political meet-

ing: is it implied that the atmosphere of a church is more lascivious or suggestive that that of a platform? If so, we had better cease to consecrate buildings for religious purposes. To maintain that there is anything indecent in a woman celebrating the Holy Communion is to assert what cannot be argued, and is to most of us simply not the case. They often preside over the family meal at home; why should they not do so in Church? A woman gave birth to the Lord: cannot women celebrate the mystery of His body and blood?

This group of arguments is in fact a bogey set up to impose upon the timid, a turnip-ghost of which most of us are getting heartily tired and in this connection are ashamed. There is a type of religion which is erotic and tangled up with sexuality. Mediaeval hymns and devotions to the Madonna are not free from it; and considering the conventions of two centuries ago the fear of lust would then have been not unreasonable. Nowadays that fear is negligible. We are not as prurient as is apparently assumed. There is no more reason to suppose that men will fall in love with a woman priest than to argue that because women sometimes get

sentimental over curates therefore men cannot be ordained. In fact the official dress and status would be a very adequate safeguard. It has been proved over and over again that women dressed as sisters of mercy or pilgrims or nurses or patrols can go anywhere without fear of molestation. The same would, I believe, be true of woman priests. Let them wear a robe of office and they will be treated as what they are, accredited ministers of the Church. The moral dangers will not be as great as they are for hospital nurses: many of us do not believe that they will be as great as they now are for men. In any case the assumption that whereas women can heal the body without arousing sex-consciousness they cannot minister to the soul without moral danger, is falsified by the evidence of their work in missions and parishes, and is unjust both to womanhood and to religion.

(*b*) *The Argument from Scripture*

2. If the general argument fails it is often supported by a series of biblical quotations. It is natural and right that the letter of the New Testament should be given high authority,

though sometimes this results in a wide departure from its spirit. But it is hardly justifiable for Christians to quote the Old Testament as authoritative, since it is notable that on no subject is the difference between the dispensations more obvious than on the status of women. Jewish ideas were and are thoroughly Oriental in their insistence on feminine inferiority; and it may well be urged that St. Paul himself was not uninfluenced by his race, and in certain of his sayings showed himself more a Jew than a Christian.

If we take the evidence in detail it is to the attitude and teaching of our Lord that we shall turn as our prime authority. Here there is no doubt at all. He broke entirely with the conventions and with the religion of His time in asserting both by word and action the full and equal status of all children of His Father. There is indeed no discrimination in His treatment of men and women: He horrifies His apostles by speaking to the woman of Samaria, and His host by permitting the woman who was a sinner to anoint His feet: He has women in the company of His disciples and accepts their ministry: He is entertained by the sisters at Bethany and

reveals Himself first after His resurrection to Mary Magdalene: in His preaching women are mentioned as freely as men, and He chooses their work and cares to illustrate His message: for them He performs many of His miracles of healing: to them as to men He is always the perfect representative of the Father who has no favourites and in whose Kingdom service is the only mark of preëminence. In Him, as St. Paul declares, "there is neither male nor female": we are all one.

The only argument that can be adduced is that from silence—from the fact that He nowhere establishes the ordination of women and did not choose a woman as an Apostle. The former of these is scarcely relevant, for He never mentions either deacons or priests or, indeed, any of the details of Church organization. Here as always He came not to lay down a code but to sow seeds that would live and grow and bear fruit. It is with life not with mechanism, with God not with ways and means, that He is concerned. He created a new relationship with God and with one another for men and women.

The latter is sometimes urged as conclusive. To use it so is fatally to misconceive the whole

purpose of the Apostolate. Apostles were missioners, chosen and sent to a particular service. It was no honorary office, no title denoting superior intimacy or spiritual excellence. And to select a woman for such a task would have been at once unjust to her and practically futile. The attitude of the world towards women being what it was, no woman could possibly have been made responsible for mission-preaching. Common-sense would restrict Apostleship to men in those days: to include women would have been a piece of cruel sentimentality. It is only because we are thinking in terms of titles of honour, not of fitness for a particular purpose, that the argument can be advanced. But it does not follow that because such work was impracticable for a woman in the first century, she is to be debarred from any authorized ministry for all time. As with slavery, so here; the Gospel is a leaven which in time shall transform the whole of human life and bring all of us, men and women alike, to perfection. Jesus abolished the inequality of the sexes once and for all: He left it to His disciples to work out the implications of that enormous revolution.

To turn from the Gospels to the Epistles of

St. Paul is, in this matter perhaps more than in most, to realize the uniqueness of Jesus and the limitations even of His greatest followers. Jesus rises wholly above the conventions of race and time. St. Paul is a Jewish Christian of the first generation. It is indeed marvellous that a man of such definite temperament and individuality should have so often and so superbly transcended his heredity and environment. If we select from him the passages in which he reaches his full stature, there is no question but that he like his Master sees all distinctions of sex and race, of class and culture done away in the new age. But when he is dealing with practical and disciplinary questions as in the first letters to the Corinthians and to Timothy (if the latter is by him) he is less free from Judaism. It is, of course, unfair to attach permanent and universal authority to directions appropriate to the most licentious of all Greek cities. Corinth, whose sacred prostitutes in the temple of Aphrodite gave their city's name to all women of loose life, was the place above all others at which scandal was most to be expected. There was bad trouble in the Church already: the town was full of women accustomed to

identify religion with sensuality: the Christian community set great store by emotional excitement: "women," so he declares, "must not speak" in the meetings: possibly he is here referring to the ecstatic speaking with tongues with which he has just dealt. For elsewhere in the Epistle he assumes that they will preach and pray in public, and does not forbid them to do so provided they be veiled.

The letter to Timothy is more definite: indeed throughout it there is an ecclesiastical tone and a concern with legislation so unlike the earlier epistles as to give strong support to the scholars who reject it as not genuinely Pauline. Certainly, whereas before he has treated the ministry and its various functions as gifts of the Spirit, he now emphasizes only moral fitness and formal authorization. It is by no means unlikely that at the close of his life he felt the need for more exact organization, and abandoned something of his dislike of ordinances. And if so, he may well have seen that any attempt to fulfil the Christian equality of men and women was premature and would be mistaken, and therefore have confined them to their work as deaconesses and to a subordinate position. It is possible, too,

that in his old age the influences of his boyhood revived their strength. At least the difference of tone is noticeable. Should it justify us in overriding his claim that in Christ there is neither male nor female? And if so, are we to take a single sentence as conclusive for all time? Surely to do so is to misunderstand the whole character of the religion of Jesus, to undo the whole of St. Paul's protest against legalism, and to revert to the method of the Mosaic dispensation, to rules and regulations, taboos and the Law.

For if it is possible to collect a few texts which imply that in the Apostolic age the exigencies of the time made it impossible to secure the full and immediate realization of the Kingdom of God upon earth, the whole tenor of the New Testament is plainly against any final adherence to the subjection of half the human race. Jesus throughout His teaching, and St. Paul in his great concept of the Body of Christ, point unmistakably to the spiritual equality of all the members of the family of God. They are alike in honour, alike in their capacity for full spiritual life, alike in the duty and privilege of consecrated service. Each must use the talents that are his or hers; and the community must be so

ordered as to enable them to do so: else their liberty to serve will be denied and the welfare of the whole be impoverished. Since talents differ, there is room for difference of function: all have not the same office: but the qualification for office is determined not by sex but by spiritual fitness with a view to the edifying of the body.

In the first century the moral tone of pagan society was depraved: the writings of Petronius and others reflect a prevalent immorality alike more open and more general than in any other period or place: women were regarded merely as instruments of lust or at the best as means for the securing of offspring. They were denied education or initiative: only the courtesan had any independence. Jew and Gentile assumed the inferiority of the weaker sex as axiomatic. To such a world Jesus proclaimed the Sermon on the Mount, an uncompromising statement of the life of the blessed community: to His disciples He committed the task of realizing the ideal, of so permeating human life by His Spirit that gradually the conventions and resistances of men should be overcome and all things be made new. In the first flush of their enthusiasm

the little church at Jerusalem seems to have tried to fulfil the conditions of the Kingdom at once, to abandon the social order of their time, to give up private possessions, to live in perfect equality. They soon realized that if the tiny organism were to survive it must adjust itself to its environment: we may call the result a compromise if we like—it is part of the age-long effort to live Christianity in a world not yet ready for the fullness of Christ. If they were to survive, they must be prepared to grow slowly, adapting means to ends, and developing the organization best suited to the practical business of evangelization. Such a task made enormous demands on their patience and wisdom: they had to choose between the lesser and the greater good, to balance ultimate principles against immediate needs, to work out their own salvation in a world as yet uninfluenced by their Master. Under such circumstances they must do all things "in love," sympathizing with the weaknesses and respecting the ingrained prejudices of mankind while infecting it with the Spirit of Christ who would at the last subdue all things unto Himself.

If we mistake the temporary arrangements to

which they gave sanction for the eternal principles of the gospel of Jesus, we shall wholly misconceive the character of Christianity and shall make of it a mechanism, not a way of life. Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God and the spiritual perfectibility of men and women: the Church exists to achieve the establishment of that Kingdom. Slavery, war, the subjugation of womanhood, these are proofs that the work is not yet done. We are unworthy of Jesus if we do not seize every opportunity to promote its completion.

(c) *The Argument from Catholic Authority*

3. Alongside of the arguments from Scripture are those from Catholic tradition. If the Church is the Body of Christ, it is admitted that all its members are equal in honour: yet if it is a Body it must be articulated, and its members will differ in function. No Catholic will admit that women are spiritually inferior; but he will maintain that they are by their sex disqualified from the higher grades of the ministry. One office, that of deaconess, has been granted to them: let them be content with it. They can be given nothing more. And the reason for this is

plain. If the Body is to survive it must have a certain definite and permanent structure. This skeleton, so to speak, whether committed to the Apostles at the first or evolved under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, consists of the doctrinal and institutional system, of Creeds and Canon Law. It is irreformable, and for Catholics conclusive. By it women are debarred from the priesthood: by it the case has been decided: *cadit quaestio*.

Such a contention, whereby the issue can be settled without being discussed, is to many minds singularly attractive. Those who affirm that the Church is an organism embodying the Spirit of Christ must admit that continuity of structure is necessary to it, otherwise there is anarchy and rampant individualism, and every man will do that which is right in his own eyes. There is room for development, for growth and evolution, but only if there is a certain fixity in essential characters. The Church has decided that women are incapable of ordination to the priesthood: this is a fundamental part of the Catholic system.

The first question that such an argument raises has to do with this claim that certain

elements in the constitution of the Church are fixed and unalterable. The Roman Catholic may accept such a statement, though even for him the Canon Law is not quite so simple a guide as is often supposed. What, for example, is his attitude towards the fact of evolution and its bearing upon the doctrine of the Fall? Or towards biblical scholarship and the authorship and authority of the Book of Genesis or the First Gospel? Or towards the celibacy of the clergy, where the Canons of the Eastern Orthodox are in flat contradiction to the practice of the Latins? And for the Church of England, though Roman authority may be regarded with the deepest reverence, "Rome has erred," and we claim liberty to depart, as we have done in the matter of a celibate priesthood, from her discipline. How then is it to be decided, even if we grant the existence of a skeleton, what is changeless and what reformable? What is the line between liberty and anarchy, or between the permanent and the petrified, between legitimate development and subversive revolution?

The analogy from organic evolution if it favours the case for continuity, gives little ground

for belief in an absolute fixity of structure. Indeed it proves that those organisms are capable of giving rise to higher types which remain free and plastic. As soon as a creature is encumbered with too rigid a framework it drops out of the forward march of life. Only those which can adapt themselves to new conditions by drastic changes of form survive: the rest perish. Anyone who traces the development of gill-slits into eustachian tubes, or the various functions served by the front pair of limbs, will hesitate to speak of any organ in the body as unalterable. Rather he will feel that the whole possibility of growth depends upon and consists in absolute freedom to modify and adjust. The structure is a means: the survival and welfare of the living creature is the end: and life depends upon appropriate adaptation to environment.

Moreover it is plain alike to biologist and to Church historian that changes of form have been produced to meet special, local and often temporary needs. They are, so to speak, a concession to surroundings. The creature, be it mammal or church, cannot do what is ideally best but only what is best under the circumstances. And often the demands of circumstance

have been such as to produce exaggeration and gravely to handicap life. It is clear that the status of women, universally accepted as one of subjection until a couple of generations ago, constituted a condition to which the Church rightly adjusted its organization. In doing so, as in approving of war, it fell below the level of the teaching of Jesus. Because under the stress of circumstances it developed a structure suited to immediate needs, it must not be supposed that the ideal is to be abandoned. Quite evidently the appearance of educated and qualified women is in accordance with the Spirit of Christ: it creates a new opportunity for the improvement of the structure of the Church: indeed it constitutes an environment to which the Church must, if it is to survive, adjust itself.

A further question arises if we drop the argument from evolution. This claim to settle the issue by appeal to an inerrant and final authority means that the life of the Spirit can be and has been translated into a code of rules; that Christianity is a religion not of spiritual relationship but of mechanical obedience. Important as it is to preserve continuity, to enforce disci-

pline, to avoid individualism, such motives must not be used to subvert the work of Jesus. It is easier to surrender the duty of intelligent discipleship, to repudiate St. Paul's struggle for liberty, to live by rote and under law—easier but obviously impossible for the Christian. The very essence of the gospel lies in the fact that we are sons not slaves, under grace not law, walking by faith and love. Jesus found Himself confronted by a religion in which the observance of Law and of the Tradition of the Elders was of paramount importance: everything was settled by precedent: it was the task of the Rabbi to expound and refine and of the people to observe and obey. Our Lord's whole attitude and teaching are a protest against such a system; and He sealed His opposition to it by His blood. He took the most sacred ordinances of the Canon Law of His own time, the rules of fasting, the observance of the Sabbath, and appealed beyond them to the love of God and His purpose for His human family. "You cannot," He said, "take a patch from the new robe of spiritual freedom and sew it onto the old robe of legalism: the old robe has served its day, and must be replaced." "The Sabbath

was instituted for man's welfare: so long as it serves that end, good: where it does not, man can dispense with it." "God's will is frustrated, His love is denied by your tradition." He will settle nothing by reference to the authority of the past; though He treats that authority with respect, it is never for Him final. Always its value must be tested by its present influence and results: is its fruit good? does it promote or restrict or overthrow the fullness of life, the perfecting of the children of the Father? Tradition unless it is endorsed by proof of its power here and now to create and enrich man's spiritual welfare is of no absolute authority.

Such teaching, involving as it does the need of an intense spiritual sensitiveness that we may be alert to hear "what the Spirit says to the Churches," has been endorsed by the Church of England from the first. Our Church has not hesitated to reject or to reform Catholic usage, to accept new knowledge, to adopt new methods, to adjust itself to the wider vision of God and to the changes accompanying that vision. We cannot admit the claim that our practice must be settled by reference to an irreformable system of law; we cannot surrender our duty

to prove all things; we cannot exchange our heritage of freedom and return to bondage and a pedagogue. We must decide whether this thing is of God by other means than the bare appeal to authority: and if it is of God, then we must adjust our organization in accordance with it.

CHAPTER V

THE IMMEDIACY OF THE NEED

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A WORD must be said in conclusion about the attitude of those who are not opposed on principle to the ordination of women but who maintain that in reëmphasizing the office of deaconess the Church of England has gone far enough. They point out that there is no strong demand for a change, that we must avoid a step which would offend Catholics, both Eastern and Western, and that if at any time further development is possible that time is not yet.

It has already been urged that excellent as is the work of deaconesses it is not suited to the capabilities or calculated to develop the gifts of many women who seek to serve the Church. No doubt the last Lambeth Conference intended to give more dignity to it, and to treat it as equivalent to the diaconate for men. If this was the intention it has not yet been made good. Hardly anywhere, indeed I believe only

in one or two dioceses, has the ordination to it been held under conditions similar to that of men. Candidates for it are not regarded as ordinands. Nor has their work, whatever their qualification and length of service, been raised either in status or in character. Too often they are regarded as cheap substitutes where the funds do not permit of a curate. To the laity and to the outside world the deaconess is a church worker, a lady helper, a sister, not a cleric.

That there is no large or insistent demand from women for ordination is natural enough—though dissatisfaction is widespread, and the grievance is one cause for the alienation of educated women from the Church. That their desires are not more loudly expressed is due partly to a natural hesitation to voice a claim for their own recognition, to "advertise their own wares," partly to the feeling that with other work open to them it is a waste of time to knock upon closed doors; partly to the tradition which puts the Church, like the Army or Navy, outside consideration as providing girls with a calling. There is something spiritually repellent in agitation, in the struggle to secure

reform, and this is particularly so when the reform is one from which the agitator will benefit. Add to this the fact that all women have not the desire to be pioneers, that they have seen a vast number of careers lately opened to them, and that, like their brothers, they are inclined to regard institutional religion with disfavour and the Church as reactionary and effete. They know that Jesus did not reject the ministry of Martha and Joanna nor the spikenard of the sinner; and they will not force upon the Church, which calls itself His, offerings that it refuses to receive. Sooner will they find Him elsewhere, and there bring to Him their gifts.

And if it is urged that women can and do undertake theological, evangelistic and pastoral work already, and that the refusal to them of a sacramental ministry with power to celebrate the Eucharist or to pronounce absolution is no obstacle or loss, the reply is plain. Such a claim implies that sacraments are not essential, that a ministry can be exercised as well without this power as with it; and to admit this is to surrender the case for a Catholic doctrine of the Church. At present the refusal to ordain women is unquestionably bringing sacramental

religion into disfavour. In such bodies as the Student Movement the younger generation has gained experience of the value of women's ministry: for in the movement, as among the Friends, there is equality between the sexes. Students compare the spiritual vitality of non-sacramental with that of sacramental religion, and conclude that the importance of sacraments is vastly exaggerated. If it is argued that women have nothing to gain by being admitted to the priesthood they will be confirmed in that conclusion. It is because some of us believe in the sacramental system and yet are convinced of the worth of women's ministry that we cannot assent to an attitude which refuses to ordain them. Such an attitude if maintained can have only one result, the discrediting of sacraments as "generally necessary to salvation," and the abandonment of the Church in favour of an inter-denominational or non-sacramental society.

What is actually happening at present is this. Women are increasingly engaged in evangelism as pilgrims or missioners and in pastoral work through settlements and classes. If they wish to do this work for the Church, freedom and

initiative are denied to them, and they are dependent on the good will of the local incumbent. Many clergy are learning to welcome them and to encourage without restricting their efforts. Others are suspicious, jealous or incompetent, refusing to give advice or assistance, and straining to the breaking point the loyalty of those whose help they reject. It is easy to mention many parishes and districts in which the Church has been ineffective and to which women pilgrims have brought new life: in some there has been the happiest coöperation between pilgrims and clergy; in others the women have been met with discourtesy or indifference and have had to choose between abandoning their venture or continuing it independently. It is obviously undesirable to quote evidence in detail but the facts are familiar to many if not all active Churchwomen, and create in the keenest of them disappointment and discouragement. One instance typical of the sort of difficulty under which women have to serve may be given as an illustration. My friend, the late Mrs. E. Herman, had a remarkable genius for rescue-work, and spent much of her very busy life in befriending girls in trouble. On this

occasion, being a devoted Churchwoman, she wished to consult a parish priest about a case, was referred by him to his curate, and visited the man in his rooms. His housekeeper gave them tea and was rebuked by the curate for handing her the first cup. "Will you never learn the respect due to a priest?" was his remark; after which he proceeded to upbraid his visitor for interfering, to intimate that she was wasting his time, and to refuse the help she desired. Mrs. Herman was a very able and a very long-suffering woman; but she could not help complaining to me with a gentle irony of the way in which the Church seemed to regard her efforts. And such an example does not stand alone.

No one would wish to suggest that the Church should accept the ministry of women indiscriminately or without supervision. Obviously their qualifications must be tested and their spheres of activity regulated. But the value of their service is quite indisputable. And that women of the experience and ability of Mrs. Herman should be at the mercy of any parson, however futile, is surely both unfair to her and grievously damaging to the Church.

The point of policy—"beware lest you hinder

the prospect of re-union with the Holy Orthodox or the Papacy"—is one of those objections which can be made to serve any turn. Whatever its real weight, it sacrifices truth to expediency; it appeals to fear; it justifies reactionary obscurantism. We are living in a new age of unrivalled opportunity but of grave danger. Both the Church of Rome and the Easterns have shown themselves out of sympathy with the life of that age; and if they are right in resisting certain of its tendencies, they are as clearly wrong in alienating from themselves the best life of Europe. In the countries of the Roman allegiance it is almost impossible to be both a Catholic and a democrat: it is hard to be a scholar without incurring censure: all that is liberal and progressive in thought and culture is estranged from and usually hostile to the Church. In the East, though we condemn unsparingly the persecutors of Christianity, we cannot but admit that the Church has been corrupt, superstitious and ineffective. The Church of England is the only body claiming to be Catholic which has preserved the freedom to grow and has hitherto kept in touch with the new knowledge and the new social order. To

ask us to abrogate this freedom that we may share the fate of Greeks and Romans is to offer us an unattractive prospect. Rather we should be warned by what has happened in France, and see to it that our organization can attract and hold and use the educated life of the country.

If we are to do so, it is useless to urge delay. This is not an issue on which we can afford to be dilatory: for it is no small or relatively unimportant issue like the revision of the Prayer-book or the provision of new dioceses, but affects more than half of the whole human race. The higher education of women and their admission to a full share in the world's work have come already; it is a step which all humanity is beginning to take. Every year fresh schools for girls, fresh colleges for women, are being opened, in Asia and Africa not less than in the white continents. Every year more women are being qualified for posts that give full scope to their powers. If we encourage the tradition which excludes them from the ministry, we shall not only suffer present loss; we shall divert from the service of the Church the whole of the new womanhood, and shall be advocating a doc-

trine of the inferiority of women which is unchristian and has been abandoned by the best life of the age.

To perpetuate habits of mind and methods of organization suited to the period when women's subjugation was axiomatic is under the circumstances of to-day to invite failure; it is to prefer a stage coach in an era of motor-cars and aeroplanes. The Church which is ultimately responsible for the recognition of the spiritual equality of women ought not to be the last to maintain restrictions upon the exercise of that equality. Jesus welcomed the ministry of women: under the guidance of His Spirit they now minister freely in every other department of life; in the Church of Jesus their full right to minister is denied.

The tragic consequences for all who love the Church and who believe in its mission are only too obvious. We are confronted with issues justly described as critical, with a situation of world-wide opportunity. A determined effort to evangelize the nations and to base the new international civilization upon a Christian foundation must be made and made at once. Far-sighted statesmen, experienced missionaries,

indeed all who understand the position, know that the old order is in the melting-pot, that it is even now being run into new moulds which will determine its shape for the future. Those moulds will be fashioned by racial ambition, by bitterness and hatred, unless mankind is given a spiritual re-birth. The Church exists for such a regeneration. It should throw every ounce of power, all its resources of intellect, of devotion, of sacramental strength into the effort. Its leaders cry aloud for men and bewail the insufficiency of the supply. They feel unable to recognize or to employ some of the best qualified of their members, simply and solely because those members are women. For the sake of tradition they are restricting the possibility of successful evangelism.

And if it is urged that the number of women adequately trained, spiritually suitable and desirous of ordination is small, it must be stated that this is by no means proved; nor does it seriously affect the issue. What is clear is that a certain number believe that they have a vocation to the priesthood, that they and very many others are already doing priestly work in the cure of souls; surely these when

tested should be given the authority of ordination. If once it were recognized that the Church could and would give scope to women, the whole outlook of many women would be changed: they would not rule out the service of the Church as impossible for them: in a few years a steady supply of first-rate material would be forthcoming.

By all means let the testing of candidates be severe; set a standard far higher than that now applied to men; devise a probationary period; take every possible means to secure that only the very best are ordained. But where a woman shows that she is called and capable, do not let the Church refuse her on the sole ground that she is not a man.

We look forward to an age in which men and women united in the fellowship of a world-wide Church shall each and all come to the measure of the fullness of the stature of Christ. Hitherto the dawning of that age has been delayed, and delayed by two chief obstacles. The world has not yet discovered its unity. Centuries of war and conquest, exploration and pioneering, education and invention have been devoted to the founding of an international order. When

Jesus sent out His disciples to teach all nations, conditions outside the Mediterranean basin forbade the fulfilment of their venture. To-day the Church could carry on and complete on a world-wide scale the task of St. Paul. Mankind is beginning to realize its solidarity, to envisage and to prepare for a universal commonwealth. The second obstacle has been the position of women. So long as they were virtually enslaved, prevented from the development of their personalities, denied the exercise of initiative, given no education except for domesticity, neither they nor men could reach their full growth. The sexes were meant for partnership: here and there in the past we have seen a foretaste of what their true coöperation might achieve; now for the first time they are able to live and work together in the free and joyous exercise of all their capabilities.

If it is important that the Church should meet the call of the world for the universal gospel, it is not less important for it to foster and promote the spiritual growth of womanhood and the partnership of all the children of God in service to their common Father and as equals in His family. It cannot do so unless

it accepts both sexes as eligible for ordination. Surely this spiritual enrichment of womanhood in education, in works of healing, in social service, in evangelistic and pastoral effort is of God; surely it is capable of bringing a great gift of new life to the Church; surely the Kingdom, now as when the message was first proclaimed, is at hand. We would plead with those whose responsibility it is to interpret the will of God to consider this matter earnestly and without prejudice, lest lightly dismissing it for tradition's sake we be found to be fighting against Him and making His Word of none effect.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIXES

A. The Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1920 and the Position of Women in the Church of England.

THE Lambeth Conference of 1920 appointed a special committee to consider the ministrations of women in the Church; and the report of this committee, endorsed by the whole Conference, marked a definite advance. Though stating that "The Order of Deaconesses is for women the one and only Order of the Ministry which we can recommend that our Branch of the Catholic Church should recognize and use," it clearly desired to establish this order as of a dignity equal to that of the Diaconate for men. "The Form and Manner of Making of Deaconesses" was to have a place in the Prayer Book; Deaconesses were to assist at or to administer Baptism, to read Morning and Evening Prayer in church and under licence of the bishop to instruct and exhort the congregation. While cautious in its wording and outlook, the Report fully recognized both the failure of the Church in its attitude towards women, and the need for a larger measure of authoritative encouragement and equality of opportunity for service. For in addition to sanctioning the Order of Deaconesses it asserted the right of women to admission on equal terms with laymen to the Councils of the Church.

If the report had been put into effect, a great change might well have begun. Unfortunately here, as in the matter of reunion, the conference proved itself more enlightened than the majority of its members, and its recommendations have not yet been generally fulfilled. In

particular the permission accorded to women to preach in consecrated buildings under licence has been restricted by the addition of the words "normally to women and children" and even so is by no means commonly given.

B. The Ministry of Women in the Free Churches of Britain. (This appendix is based upon material supplied by the Rev. Constance Cottman, B. D.)

In the Presbyterian churches in Scotland women are not eligible for ordination, but in England the principle of equality has been conceded and women ordained as elders though not yet to the preaching ministry.

Among Congregationalists full admission is granted; several women have been ordained to the ministry (seven are now working in it) and candidates for it are accepted at the theological colleges. This is also the position among the Baptists where three women ministers are at work. In both denominations it is at present difficult for a woman to receive a call to a church but this is a matter of prejudice, not of principle.

The principle is accepted by all the Methodist bodies except the United Methodists: with their history it could hardly be otherwise. Wesleyans are at present discussing the practicability of ordaining women on equal terms with men. The Order of Deaconesses is very strong among Wesleyans.

The Unitarians admit women on equal terms with men, as do the Quakers and the Salvation Army.

C. The Ministry of Women in the Mission Field.

At the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council a resolution was unanimously adopted applying the principle of equality in Christ to the rights of men and women. The issue was not debated, and it would be unjust to urge that it represents the Council's

attitude towards the question of the ordination of women—a question which did not in fact fall within the Council's province.

Nevertheless, it seems clear that so far as the Church of England is concerned missionaries are here as elsewhere less conservative than their fellows at home. There is a mass of information to prove that Anglicans, who value the sacramental side of their religion, feel keenly the practical need for women priests to minister to converts living under purdah rules.

Age-long social customs cannot wisely be brushed aside in a moment, nor should native women be forced to choose between violating them or being cut off from priestly ministrations. Here is an acute case of the necessity for a ministry of women to women.

D. Lay and Clerical Status of Women as Reported from 114 Denominations in the United States.

Denomination	HAVE WOMEN FULL STATUS IN *Local Churches*	*Highest Denominational Body*	*Ordained Ministry*
ADVENTISTS			
Advent Christian	Yes	Yes	Yes
Seventh Day Adventists	Yes	Yes	No
Assemblies of God	Yes	Yes	Yes
BAPTISTS			
Northern Baptist Convention	Yes	Yes	Yes
Southern Baptist Convention	No	Yes	No
National Baptist Convention	No	Yes	No
Six Principle Baptists	Yes	Yes	Yes
Seventh-Day Baptists	Yes	Yes	Yes
Seventh-Day Baptists—German	Yes	Yes	No
Free Will Baptists	Yes	Yes	Yes
Free Baptists	Yes	Yes	Yes
Regular Baptists	Yes	Yes	X
Scandinavian Independent Baptists	No	No	No
BRETHREN (German Baptist Dunkards)			
Church of the Brethren (Dunkards)	Yes	Yes	No
Brethren Ch. (Progressive Dunkards)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Plymouth Brethren	No	No	No
Brethren in Christ of U. S. A. and Canada	No	No	No

Denomination	HAVE WOMEN FULL STATUS I		
	Local Churches	*Highest Denominational Body*	*Ordained Ministry*
BRETHREN—(*Continued*)			
Old Order or Yorker Brethren	X	X	No
United Zion's Children	No	X	X
CATHOLICS (Eastern)			
Armenian Apostolic Church	Yes	Yes	No
Greek Orthodox Church	No	No	No
Russian Orthodox Church	No	No	No
CATHOLICS (Western)			
Roman Catholic Church	No	No	No
American Catholics	X	Yes	No
African Orthodox	Yes	No	No
N. A. Old Roman Catholics	Yes	Yes	No
Polish National Catholic Church	Yes	Yes	X
CHRISTADELPHIANS	No	No	No
CHRISTIAN CHURCH			
General Convention	Yes	Yes	Yes
CHRISTIAN UNION	Yes	Yes	Yes
CHURCH OF CHRIST SCIENTIST	Yes	Yes	Yes
CHURCH OF GOD			
General Assembly	No	No	No
CHURCH OF GOD	Yes	Yes	Yes
CHURCH OF GOD IN NORTH AMERICA			
General Eldership	Yes	Yes	Yes
CHURCH OF THE NAZARENES	Yes	Yes	Yes
CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM (Swedenborgian)			
General Convention of the New Jerusalem	Yes	Yes	No
General Church of the New Jerusalem	No	Yes	No
COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES			
United Family of Believers (Shakers)	Yes	Yes	X
CONGREGATIONALISTS			
Congregational Church National Council	Yes	Yes	Yes
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST	Yes	Yes	Yes
EVANGELICAL CHURCH			
General Conference	Yes	No	No
EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATIONS			
Apostolic Christian Church	No	No	No
Christian Congregation	Yes	Yes	X
Church of Daniel's Band	Yes	Yes	Yes
Church of God as Organized by Christ	Yes	Yes	Yes
Missionary Church Association	Yes	Yes	No
Peniel Mission	X	X	Yes
Missionary Bands of the World	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pillar of Fire	Yes	Yes	Yes
EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF N. A.	Yes	Yes	No

Denomination	HAVE WOMEN FULL STATUS IN Local Churches	Highest Denominational Body	Ordained Ministry
FRIENDS			
Soc. of Friends (Orthodox) 5 Year Meeting	Yes	Yes	Yes
Society of Friends (Hicksite)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox)	Yes	Yes	Yes
LATTER DAY SAINTS			
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	Yes	Yes	No
LUTHERANS			
The United Lutheran Church in America	Yes	Yes	No
Iowa Synod	No	No	No
Lutheran Synod of Buffalo	No	No	No
Augustana Synod (Lutheran)	No	No	No
Norwegian Lutheran Church of America	No	No	No
Lutheran Free Church	Yes	Yes	No
Church of the Lutheran Brethren	No	No	No
United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Ch.	No	Yes	No
Danish Evangelical Lutheran Ch. in America	Yes	Yes	No
Suomi Synodical Finnish Evan. Lutheran Church in America	Yes	Yes	No
Finnish Evangelical Lutheran National Church of America	Yes	Yes	No
SCANDINAVIAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH			
Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant	Yes	Yes	No
Norwegian Danish Evangelical Free Church	Yes	Yes	No
MENNONITES			
Mennonite Church	Yes	No	No
Amish Mennonite Church (Conservative)	X	Yes	No
Defenseless Mennonites	No	No	No
Central Conference of Mennonites	Yes	X	X
Old Order Mennonites	Yes	Yes	X
Reformed Mennonite Church	No	No	No
General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America	X	Yes	No
Mennonite Brethren in Christ	Yes	No	No
Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church	No	No	No
METHODISTS			
Methodist Episcopal Church	Yes	Yes	No
Methodist Episcopal Church, So.	Yes	Yes	No
Methodist Protestant Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
Free Methodists	Yes	Yes	No
Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America	Yes	Yes	Yes
Primitive Methodist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
Congregational Methodist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
African Methodist Episcopal Church	Yes	Yes	No

Denomination	HAVE WOMEN FULL STATUS IN Local Churches	Highest Denominational Body	Ordained Ministry
METHODISTS—(*Continued*)			
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church	Yes	No	No
MORAVIANS			
Provincial Elders' Conference, Northern	Yes	Yes	X
Bohemian and Moravian Brethren	No	X	X
PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES			
Pilgrim Holiness Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
The Holiness Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pentecostal Holiness Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
PRESBYTERIANS			
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.	No	No	No
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.	No	No	No
Cumberland Presbyterian Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
Coloured Cumberland Presbyterian Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
United Presbyterian Church	No	No	No
Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod	No	No	No
Associate Synod of North America	No	No	No
Reformed Presbyterian Church	No	No	X
Reformed Presbyterian Church General Synod	No	No	No
EPISCOPALIANS			
Protestant Episcopal Church	No	No	No
Reformed Episcopal Church	Yes	Yes	No
REFORMED CHURCHES			
Reformed Church in America	No	No	No
Reformed Church in the U. S.	No	No	No
Christian Reformed Church in N. A.	No	No	No
THE SALVATION ARMY			
Salvation Army	Yes	Yes	Yes
SCHWENKFELDERS			
Schwenkfelders	Yes	Yes	Yes
Social Brethren	Yes	Yes	Yes
SPIRITUALISTS			
National Spiritualist Assn.	Yes	Yes	Yes
UNITARIANS			
Unitarians	Yes	Yes	Yes
UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST			
The United Brethren in Christ	Yes	Yes	Yes
United Brethren in Christ (Old Constitution)	Yes	Yes	Yes
UNIVERSALISTS			
Universalist Church	Yes	Yes	Yes
VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA			
The Volunteers of America	Yes	Yes	Yes

Have women full status in the local churches—Yes	75	
No	34	
Uncertain	5	
	—	114
Have women full status in the highest denominational body—Yes	76	
No	33	
Uncertain	5	
	—	114
Have women full status as ordained ministers—Yes	43	
No	61	
Uncertain	10	
	—	114

In several churches legislation has taken place since these questionnaires were received, which may affect these findings.

E. Illustrative Material

From *The Relative Place of Women in the Church*

1. For general background. *Saints and Ladies*, by Clarissa H. Spencer, Womans Press, New York, 1925, $1.50.
2. For Biblical background. *The Biblical Status of Women*, by Dr. Anna Lee Starr, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1926, $3.00. *The Attitude of Jesus toward Women*, by Rev. Madeline M. Southard, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York, 1927, $1.50.
3. For details and examples, especially of women as laymen. *The Relative Place of Women in the Church*, by Elizabeth Wilson, 1927, being the Tentative Report of a Joint Committee representing the Council of Women for Home Missions, 105 East 22d Street, New York, the Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22d Street, New York. Copies of the report obtainable for twenty-five cents each from any of the above addresses.

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